

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Rural Reconstruction In China LEONARD S. HSU	403
Youth As an Object of Sociological Study C. R. HOFFER	417
National Origins of Prominent Immigrants MAPHEUS SMITH	422
Marriage Annulments T. EARL SULLENGER and HOWARD FISCHER	432
Social Welfare and Recent Bills of Rights LEILA R. CUSTARD	440
Recreation Equipment of Underprivileged Children EVERETT W. DU VALL	447
Evolution of the American Pension System, 1883-1936 HARVEY LE BRUN	453
Moral Attitudes of White and Negro Students JOSEPH K. JOHNSON	463
Culture Distance in "A House Divided" EMORY S. BOGARDUS	473
News Notes	477
Social Research Notes	478
Foreign Sociological Society Notes	481
Book Notes	484
Social Drama Notes	495
Social Photoplay Notes	496

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

An International Journal

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00

SINGLE COPIES, 60¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editor

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

Associate Editors

CLARENCE M. CASE
GEORGE B. MANGOLD
ERLE F. YOUNG
MELVIN J. VINCENT
BESSIE A. MCCLENAHAN
JOHN E. NORDSKOG

The University of Southern California

Managing Editor

MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

Co-operating Editors

ROMANZO C. ADAMS . . .	University of Hawaii, Hawaii
ERNEST W. BURGESS . . .	University of Chicago
F. STUART CHAPIN . . .	University of Minnesota
CARL A. DAWSON . . .	McGill University, Canada
JAMES Q. DEALY . . .	Brown University
GUILLAUME L. DUPRAT . . .	University of Geneva, Switzerland
EARLE E. EUBANK . . .	University of Cincinnati
CHARLES A. ELLWOOD . . .	Duke University
ELLSWORTH FARIS . . .	University of Chicago
LEONARD S. HSÜ . . .	Yenching University, China
SAMUEL H. JAMESON . . .	University of Oregon
JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER . . .	University of Pennsylvania
RODERICK D. MCKENZIE . . .	University of Michigan
RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE . . .	Lucknow University
HOWARD W. ODUM . . .	University of North Carolina
RAUL A. ORGAZ . . .	University of Cordoba, Argentina
ROBERT E. PARK . . .	University of Chicago
EDWARD A. ROSS . . .	University of Wisconsin
PITIRIM SOROKIN . . .	Harvard University
JESSE F. STEINER . . .	University of Washington
LEOPOLD VON WIESE . . .	University of Cologne, Germany
ANDREAS WALTHER . . .	University of Hamburg, Germany
ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY . . .	Indiana University
FLORIAN ZNANIECKI . . .	University of Poznan, Poland

Representing Pacific Sociological Society

CHARLES N. REYNOLDS . . .	Stanford University
ELON H. MOORE . . .	University of Oregon
GLEN E. CARLSON . . .	University of Redlands

PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May - June, 1936

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN CHINA

A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION*

LEONARD S. HSU†

RURAL reconstruction in China, as a social movement, may be regarded as one phase of social planning. It represents a correlated attack of the various technical fields, such as agriculture, industry, co-operation, health, and public administration for the realization of a planned society. Its objective is to transform the medieval society of China into a modern society. Its methodology is a correlated application of modern sciences to the community life of China, which is 80 per cent rural.¹

There are three factors in social planning: (a) population—the biological heritage of society—including the

*The article is being published in China, in the *China Critic*, Vol. XI, Nos. 12-13.

†The author is Professor of Sociology, Yenching University, but is on a special leave for planning rural reconstruction work in the National Economic Council of the National Government of China, and serving at the same time as Executive Member of the National Co-operative Commission of the National Economic Council, and Counsellor of the Ministry of Industries.

¹ These national fields have to be tackled nationally, not regionally. For example, the question of currency reform cannot be successfully dealt with by the *hsien* or *ch'u* or even the province. It is a national issue. However, in dealing with this issue the viewpoint of rural reconstruction should be respected, and so currency reform may become a part of the program of planned reconstruction. In this connection, I may mention that the study by the Ministry of Industries on *Silver and Prices in China* (published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1935) is an example of approaching the monetary question from the standpoint of rural reconstruction and social welfare. In fact, as far as I know, this is perhaps the first time in China the question has been studied in this way. Heretofore, the currency problem was usually examined in the traditional economic sense, without much regard to the inherent interests of the rural population.

quantity of population and the quality of population; (b) natural resources—the physical heritage of society—including minerals, land, and water power; and (c) technical arts—the cultural heritage of society—including invention and economic organization, habits and social organization, and control and political organization.

The characteristic of planned reconstruction, as contrasted with unplanned reconstruction, is that there is correlation of all three factors—population, natural resources, and technical arts, thus reducing the cost of reconstruction to the very minimum. Rural reconstruction in China, as a phase of the movement for planned reconstruction, aims at organized marketing or systematic application of the technique of sciences to the community in order to secure the greatest amount of good to the largest number of people through the most economic means with our present limited amount of physical resources and technical knowledge.

The rural movement in China presupposes three things: first, if China is to survive in the family of nations, she must modernize her social organization and vastly increase its working efficiency; second, the modernization of China means largely the application of scientific knowledge to the community from the village unit up; and, third, this application should be a planned process.

Indeed social and economic planning, such as the Five-year Plan of U.S.S.R., the New Deal of the United States, or the Social Plan of Mexico, is national in scope. It includes both urban reconstruction and rural reconstruction. Its program includes industrial as well as agricultural development. Rural reconstruction, therefore, is but a part of nation-wide social planning. The special function of rural reconstruction is to apply social planning on a regional basis. In this sense, rural reconstruction is virtually

a regional experiment in social planning. Through rural reconstruction, social planning no longer remains a theoretical concept, but becomes a practical experiment—an experiment in the correlated application of scientific methods to the community life in China.

The next question is: "What are the scientific fields in planned rural reconstruction?" I have often presented this question before my fellow workers in rural reconstruction. Our tentative conclusion is that the social fields of rural reconstruction may fall into two categories: (a) those which are primarily concerned with regional or local developments; and (b) those which are primarily concerned with national policies.

The regional social fields are: (1) agriculture, (2) rural industries, (3) rural co-operation, (4) rural health, (5) rural education, (6) social administration, and (7) local government. The national social fields are: (1) land tenure, (2) irrigation, (3) frontier settlement, (4) transportation, (5) currency, (6) tariff, and (7) community statistics.

In the course of ten years of participation in the various rural programs, our experience seems to indicate that there are certain principles which are common to and necessary for the correlated establishment of a planned reconstructed society. In the first place, each social field of reconstruction should be based upon the actual needs of the rural population of China; and its field of operation should be the primary ecological unit of Chinese society, that is, the village. Secondly, each social field of reconstruction should ultimately be self-supporting. In other words, the population of the primary ecological unit, or of the larger natural economic unit, should, in the last analysis, be able to bear the cost of reconstruction. Third, each social field of reconstruction should be an organic part of the social

organization or the community life of the village, spontaneously growing out of its own needs and interests. Fourth, there should be a correlated approach of all social fields to the reconstructional process in every ecological unit rather than isolated development of individual fields in any particular unit. Lastly, the initiative and leadership of each social field should come from the locality as far as possible.

In judging the success of each social field in rural reconstruction, these five principles may be used as criteria. Take co-operation, for example. If the co-operative program does not fulfill the vital economic needs of the village, or if the cost of co-operative organization cannot be paid ultimately by the village population, or if the co-operative society is not created out of spontaneous interests of the village, or if the leadership and initiative of the co-operative program do not come from the locality, or if the co-operative program cannot be correlated or integrated with other social programs in the village such as agricultural extension, public health, or village education, such a co-operative program can hardly be regarded as successful.

These being the criteria of success in social application, every field of scientific reconstruction has to face three initial problems: first, the problem of competent personnel; second, the problem of methods; and third, the problem of organization, including finance. The first two are related to the *productive* side of the program of rural social planning, and the third is related to its *marketing* side. By methods we mean not only the scientific techniques, but also the techniques of applying scientific techniques to community life. By personnel we mean persons capable of this application. The marketing organization of rural reconstruction includes two factors, namely, field and

authority. Field means places where the social plan may be tested, experimented with, and extended; and authority means the right to reconstruct and to operate administrative, legislative, and scientific organizations in localities as well as in the central offices in order to make these organizations function effectively and in a co-ordinated manner under the new social plan. Thus the program of rural reconstruction has two aspects, namely, the production of methods and personnel, and the marketing of methods and personnel. It should be noted here that it takes competent men to produce sound methods and that methods will influence organization. At the same time, the marketing organization available determines to a large extent the type of methods; and methods determine the program of personnel training.

Universities and schools are of course the producers of personnel and technique. My co-workers in rural reconstruction have found, however, that the Chinese universities, colleges, research institutes, and schools, as they are constituted, are in many ways inadequate to meet this new need—the need of producing a new type of technique and personnel under the philosophy of planned reconstruction. Thus the problem of production leads inevitably to the necessity of reorganizing educational methods and systems in China. We should have our teaching and research reaching the community. We should have a socialized type of education for planned reconstruction. In short, we must institute “a planned training for a planned society.”

During the last few years, not a few institutions of higher learning in China have been interested in this new social approach. These institutions have made repeated attempts to co-ordinate their class teaching with field experimentation. For example, Peiping Union Medical Col-

lege in the field of public health, Yenching University in the field of social administration, Nankai University in the field of rural economics, Nanking and Central universities in the field of agriculture, and Peiping National Normal University in the field of rural education, have encouraged their teachers and students to do field work related to their respective subjects in rural community stations. Just as the training hospital is a clinic for the students and faculty of a medical school, these rural communities are social laboratories for teaching and research for the universities.

Recently, Yenching, Nankai, P.U.M.C., Nanking, Central, Tingsien, Tsouping, and C.I.F.R.C., have gone even further. They are interested not only in field experimentation, but also in interinstitutional and interfield co-ordination for a correlated approach in social reconstruction. For example, it is planned that Tingsien is to be used as the social laboratory of P.U.M.C., Yenching, Nankai, Nanking, and National Normal. One institution is to be interested in the field operation of public health, another in the field operation of rural co-operation, another in agricultural extension, still another in rural education, and so forth. In this way the field laboratory would receive the competent technical collaboration from the universities; and the various branches of university learning would experiment on social application in one centralized field in a correlated manner.

It may not be too much to hope that this idea of coordinating class teaching with field experimentation will, sooner or later, be extended to other universities in China. We shall then have a number of "reconstructed" universities or colleges to serve as centers of planned training. It may further be hoped that gradually the reconstructive process can be extended downward to technical

schools, middle schools, primary schools, as well as to special training classes, and that the same process can even be extended to institutions of pure research. The type of personnel so trained would include college graduates, post-graduates, technicians, research workers, junior workers, and special workers as well as executives.

The importance of "planned training" cannot be overstated. If the new social approach is allowed to develop, the rural movement of China would in time produce revolutionary changes in the present system of education. At present, the general criticism of university education and scientific research in China is that they are hardly related to the vital parts of our national economy; and that modern science has almost become a new type of *ba-ku*, a noncreative still less useful imitation of Western intellect, or an imported stock of fossilized knowledge. The experimental approach, as many of us tend to believe, will bring a new dynamic spirit to education, and make it a vital part of national reconstruction.

From the standpoint of rural reconstruction, the movement needs the direction of universities and research institutes. Every sound social movement must possess a sound intellectual foundation; rural reconstruction cannot be an exception. As high standards of scholarship and sound thinking are prerequisite to planning and experimentation, universities and research institutes constitute the very dynamo of the reconstruction movement. They are the factories of methods and men.

The next question is the marketing of methods and men. The marketing aspect of rural reconstruction involves the field of marketing and the authority of marketing. As already mentioned, field experience is vital to any social plan of considerable scale. Moreover, any program of reconstruction requires a measurable amount of working

authority in order to mobilize institutions and men for fulfilling a required plan. Thus, the marketing of rural reconstruction requires, first, field experience, and then, field authority.

This touches the question of the selection of field. The purpose of field experimentation and extension is twofold: first, to test the effectiveness of scientific methods in social application; and, second, to enable men with fundamental theoretical training to acquire field experience in social application.

There are two types of fields: first, the field for training, or training field; and, second, the field for extension, or posttraining field. Tingsien, for example, may be regarded as a training field and Ho ch'ai may be regarded as a kind of extension field. In the training field, university departments should control experimentation. Only first-rate scientists are qualified to conduct creative research and make adequate use of the social community as their laboratory for research and teaching.

On the other hand, an experimental *hsien*, experimental *ch'u*, or even experimental province (if any), should be designated as an extension field where the emphasis is extension, not training. To the extension field, teams of newly trained workers should be sent where they may put the various parts of the social plan into practice. For example, each team of workers in a *hsien* should include a fair number of representatives from such fields as agriculture, health, education, co-operation, social welfare, and local administration. There are naturally different types of teams—the *hsien* team, the *ch'u* team, and the provincial team. The fundamental training required for the team workers naturally varies according to the type of work.

At present a score of training fields are available in China and the principal ones are Tingsien, Tsouping,

Kiangning, Chingho, Wukiang, and Pei-hsia. Although training facilities in most of these places are inadequate, they can be improved by integrating their work with some of the universities nearby, and have it strengthened by adding highly trained staff members. There are in China many hundreds of centers for extension. Some are governmental centers and some are conducted under private auspices. The principal ones are Ho-chai, Chü yü, Nan-hsi, Chunp'ing, Ssich'uan, Neihsiang, Chungshan, Peipeh, T'angshan, Shunhuachuns, Wench'uan, Taishan, Yü-t'ang, Hsiang-chuan, Shuan-jen-chiao, Kaochiao, Loyang, and the centers in Kiangsi, Kuangsi, and Shansi. These extension fields are usually known as experimental *hsien*, experimental *ch'u*, or some other special area. The area is rapidly expanding. For example, Shantung has recently placed fourteen *hsien* under the so-called experimental administration.

Some of us have lately been talking about selecting one whole province for experimental purpose in social planning. The question is: "Which province is the most suitable one?" First, the governor of that province must be a man with vision, courage, and determination. He must be appreciative of the modern conceptions of social planning and scientific control. He must be receptive to new ideas and capable of using trained technical personnel. Then, the province itself must have a fair-sized population, average amount of economic resources, accessibility to outside influences, and political stability. For obvious reasons, it is difficult to foresee at this time which province is the ideal field, although several provinces possess fair possibilities. Should such a province be selected eventually, social planning can be applied on a large enough scale to be capable of extending it in a national way.

Regarding the question of the authority of marketing

in rural reconstruction, the objective of securing authority is twofold: first, the efficient use of personnel, and, second, the efficient use of finance. We have a new social plan and this plan involves many new functions. Naturally some amount of reorganization will be necessary to mobilize personnel and finance in order to discharge new social functions of the government. This means the creation of new offices and the consolidation of old offices in the governmental structure.

Already such a process of reorganization is going on. For example, in the field of agriculture, the Ministry of Industries has established a National Agricultural Research Bureau as a technical agency in agricultural research. This agency is to co-ordinate with the administrative department in agricultural affairs in furthering the interest of agricultural extension. In the field of co-operation, the Ministry of Industries has recently created a Department of Co-operatives as the administrative office for co-operation. At the same time, the National Economic Council has established a Co-operative Commission with the same status as the Cotton Industry Commission, as the agency for technical promotion and advice in co-operation. In the field of public health, the Executive Yuan has recently elevated the status of the National Health Administration as the national administrative organ for health work. Again, the National Economic Council has established the Central Health Field Station as the agency for technical promotion in public health. Similarly, technical agencies as well as administrative organs are either planned or established for the fields of rural industries, rural education, social welfare, and *hsien* administration.

In addition, special co-ordinating bodies for rural reconstruction are organized in the National Government. The outstanding examples are the Rural Rehabilitation

Committee of the Executive Yuan and the Rural Reconstruction Committee of the National Economic Council. I am hoping that in the near future there will be one central committee in the National Government, which would include representatives from all the social fields of rural reconstruction and which would serve as the center of information and co-ordination.

Another aspect of the marketing organization of rural reconstruction is rural legislation. This new movement of social planning will require eventually a new body of laws and a new group of socially minded legal counselors. As the source of administrative powers is legislation, the Legislative Yuan will have to formulate new laws to meet new needs in rural social planning. There, a new group of socially minded legislators should be called upon to write these laws. In addition, the counselor's office of the various ministries should include many legal specialists of the new type, so that eventually planning, legislation, and administration can work hand in hand to further the new movement of social planning.

So much for the production and marketing of rural reconstruction. It may now be questioned: "What is the scientific validity of this whole experiment?" As already mentioned, rural reconstruction is one phase of social planning. Its practical objective is to promote systematic application of modern sciences to the social community. In this sense, the rural movement and the modern science movement are identical in purpose. If the program of rural social planning is kept on a scientific basis, it may in time have two contributions to make: first, to further the social application of natural sciences, and second, to introduce the experimental method in social study.

That the methods of natural science need social application hardly calls for further explanation. The main

question is whether social studies can be reduced to an experimental basis or whether social studies can be scientific at all. This question touches the foundation of social science as a whole. It is thought that there are natural laws underlying the social world as final and as real as the laws of the physical universe. It is also thought that these laws man must obey, if the control of the social organization is to be secure. The professed object of pure sociology is to discover the laws of the social world; and that of applied sociology is to secure effective social control based upon an understanding of these laws.

Nowadays, a great deal of sociology or social science consists of abstract generalizations, unsatisfactory methods of analysis, and pseudoscientific ways of approach. If sociology is to become scientific, the use of inductive or experimental method is essential. Rural reconstruction, as an experiment in regional social planning, represents an attempt to use the inductive or experimental method in social study.

With reference to the procedure of this study, Julian Huxley has well said that the understanding and controlling of man's social environment and his own nature need development in three interrelated ways: first, it needs to formulate its special methods; second, it needs able brains working at its fundamental problems and discovering its principles; and, third, it needs practical outlets in application by means of social experiment, just as natural science needs outlets through military, industrial, agricultural, and medical applications.

According to our terminology in rural reconstruction, the first two points of Huxley are essentially concerned with production and the third with marketing. Production, which includes training and research, is of no avail unless we find later outlets in marketing. Jobs must be found for

trained men. Opportunities for application must be expanded in teaching work, in government service, in planning or survey work, in industrial relations, as well as in institutions pursuing pure research in social science. All these activities—training, research, and extension—are but the different phases of the social experiment. They, in turn, represent collectively an attempt to apply the experimental method in social affairs.

Here we must be careful in distinguishing between mere experimentation and experimentation with some sort of a scientific basis. To merit the name "scientific," an experiment should be controlled in the same sense as used in the natural science laboratory. Although the accuracy of such control will always be less in social science than in natural science, a reasonable degree of control in social experiment can be achieved if the experiment is done by careful planning.

Thus, to approach any scientific criterion, great pains should be taken both in planning the experiment and in arranging for the critical evaluation of its results. In doing so, social science will need to formulate its own methods, and the sociologists will need to formulate a technique of their own. They should aim at expressing their results in objectively expressive criteria on which a reasonable consensus of agreement can be reached. If this is done, it will be possible to achieve a control of the social organization, more intelligent in its methods and more desirable in its results than anything we have today. This is not only one of the objectives of the rural program of China, but also the foundation on which social science can be justified.

At the present stage of social study, the machinery for integrating knowledge in relation to experience, and for integrating action on the basis of knowledge, is sadly lack-

ing. Sociology can proceed only if it pushes the machinery of this type, that is, the machinery for scientific integration, onto a new level, thus toward converting science from a series of isolated social nerve centers into what it should and might become, a real brain for society. Rural reconstruction in China, as a social experiment, it may be hoped, will contribute to the furtherance of this objective, and here lies the scientific validity of the movement in which we now participate.

In closing, it should be noted that this interpretation is by no means an original dissertation of mine, but rather a brief and inadequate summary of many discussions which I have had from time to time with hundreds of rural workers from the different parts of China. Nor is this an exposition of a settled platform. On the contrary, the basic ideas of the movement are constantly growing, changing, and improving. During the last three years I have had the good fortune of attending consecutively the National Conferences of Rural Workers, the first one in Tsouping in 1933, the second in Tingsien in 1934, and the third in Wusih in 1935. In these conferences I could not help seeing the steady growth of the rural movement, the increasing crystallization of its fundamental philosophy, and the continued improvement of its working methods.

YOUTH AS AN OBJECT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

C. R. HOFFER

Michigan State College

As ONE reviews the literature of sociological research there appears to be a relatively small amount of material pertaining to youth. This is true notwithstanding the fact that youth and their problems have existed for generations. Plato and Aristotle took cognizance of this group in their discussions about social organization and education, and ever since that time writers have made occasional reference to it. But serious scientific study of youth is comparatively recent. It developed first in the field of physiology where problems of physical growth and maturity were considered. Later the mental characteristics of youth came within the purview of psychology. Now it appears that the social situations and adjustments which youth must meet demand the same degree of scientific scrutiny. This calls for the application of sociological research to the study of youth and their problems. The purpose of this paper is to indicate some of the situations which seemingly can be investigated by the sociologist with benefit to all concerned.

The fact that the term "youth" itself is not clearly defined demands some consideration. Sometimes children as well as persons in the adolescent period are considered as youth. Such a procedure in sociological discussions is confusing and unwarranted. Children differ in many respects from persons in the adolescent age, and vice versa. A much clearer understanding will result if these two age groups are considered separately. For practical purposes it seems wise to consider as youth persons ranging in age from approximately 15 years to 25 years. The selection of the low-

er limit is based on the fact that at this period individuals cease to have interests characteristic of children. New interests develop and several problems, such as the pursuit of an education, vocational selection, and companionship with members of the opposite sex, arise. The upper limit is determined by the fact that as this period of life is reached most persons develop adult interests and a considerable percentage marry.

Both physical and mental changes are inevitable in the period of youth. On the physical side there is complex bodily development including sex. Mentally there are recognition of and a desire for self-expression and self-direction. These changes and desires eventually appear as problems which may be classified somewhat arbitrarily as follows: problems of home and family life including mating; problems of employment and vocational selection; problems involved in the use of leisure; and difficulties arising from adjustment to (or in adjusting) the prevailing system of social organization. These problems are the oldest and yet the newest which mankind must face. They are the oldest because they arise with each generation; they are the newest, for each generation of youth must solve them.

The problems of youth in connection with family life involve adjustments to parents and parental control. As adolescence approaches there is a certain groping for security and self-control on the part of the young person.¹ In this effort to secure satisfactory adjustment it is almost inevitable that some mistakes will be made and that parents, if they be interested in their children, will often become overzealous and thus do more harm than good. Then, at this age period children are likely to make unusual demands on the family budget for clothes, education, and recreation. Parents may be unable or unwilling to

¹ See, for example, Frank Wood Williams, *Adolescence* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1930), Chapter II.

meet these demands. Consequently, numerous problems of a research nature arise. For example, what are the habits of parents regarding the support of their children who are able to work for wages? If the children work for wages, are they allowed to spend the earnings as they choose? To what extent do parents permit their children in the period of youth to make their own decisions regarding religion, vocation, and recreation?

Problems of courtship and mating puzzle every modern youth. They are highly personal in nature, but the net results have many important social implications. Certainly some generalizations of a scientific nature in this field are within the realm of possibility. The influence of residential propinquity has already been studied in one community.² It would seem that other factors such as occupational, educational, and recreational experiences of the persons who marry or contemplate marriage would also reveal significant facts. As matters stand at the present time, modern youth must either follow traditional practices, many of which are often unsatisfactory, or rely on philosophical generalizations that lack the testing of scientific analysis. A part of the confusion existing in the minds of youth about marriage and marital relationships arises because neither the traditional practices nor the philosophical generalizations give adequate explanation or guidance.

Another problem of youth is lack of employment. Thousands of youth who normally would have opportunity to engage in remunerative work now find it impossible to secure any kind of employment. Too often the result is enforced idleness. A more extreme form is vagrancy and the commission of law violations of various kinds. The contribution of sociological research at this point would be to discover the principles which the community, in co-

² James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 38:219-24.

operation with the youth themselves, may use to find remunerative employment, or, in the event that this is impossible, to provide means whereby the time of young people may be used constructively.

In the matter of recreation and use of leisure time numerous problems arise. As a general rule, it now appears that communities, either urban or rural, have not been sufficiently aware of the recreational needs of youth.³ It is assumed that young people will accept the practices of adults in this connection. The fact that they have not done so seems not to have discouraged community leaders in adhering to the belief. The time is at hand when the recreational interests of young people need to be studied as a problem in community organization and an effort made to find ways and means of interesting them in activities that at least will not be harmful.

The adjustment of youth to the prevailing system of social organization is one which contains many possibilities as well as pitfalls. It has possibilities because youth has the opportunity to judge anew each aspect of social organization and to accept or reject it as circumstances seem to warrant. It is perhaps a recognition of this fact which has caused national leaders desiring marked social changes, as in Russia, Germany, and certain other countries, to enlist youth in their program for by so doing they appeal to a potent, but yet inexperienced, group in the population. Even in the United States, where no youth movement similar to that in the countries mentioned has developed, certain magazine writers give expression to the thought that the youth of the land by combined effort could secure through the ballot or by other means almost any form

³ For a discussion of this point see: E. L. Morgan and Henry J. Burt, *Community Relationships of Young People*, Research Bulletin 110, Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station; W. V. Dennis, *Organizations Affecting Farm Youth in Locust Township, Columbia County*, Bulletin 205, Pennsylvania State College; Jesse F. Steiner, *America at Play* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), pp. 142-43.

of government they desire. It may be that the dissatisfaction of youth with the prevailing social system in the United States has not developed to a point where united action is possible, or it may be that the dissatisfaction exists and young people merely lack the techniques to effectively express themselves. Whatever may be the case, it is certain that an understanding of the relationships of young people to government and their attitudes concerning it would be helpful. These problems and other aspects of social organization constitute an unexplored field awaiting the attention of the research worker.

The direct contact youth has with community institutions, particularly the church and the school, is a matter of much importance. It is repeatedly admitted that churches do not make an effective appeal to young people, but beyond this observation there is a lack of information concerning the reasons for this absence of interest or the means whereby active participation may be secured. The school, of course, is directly interested in youth, and it may be assumed that it is serving in an effective manner the needs of the young person who can attend, though the difficulty some graduates have in making satisfactory adjustments creates some doubt about this assumption. The responsibility of the school and other agencies in the community to the youth unable to attend or who have graduated and desire continuing educational contacts is not understood, or the extent of the problem definitely known. The analysis of this situation may well come within the scope of sociological research.

NATIONAL ORIGINS OF PROMINENT IMMIGRANTS

MAPHEUS SMITH

University of Kansas

EVER since the unprecedented influx of immigrants into the United States in the early years of this century, there has been particularly widespread interest in the quality of immigration into the United States. Most of the studies leading up to the present immigration laws were made by showing that immigrants from some countries were inferior in intelligence test performance or were more difficult to assimilate than those from other countries; and pseudoscientific studies of hereditary factors were made which were said to prove the psychological inferiority of certain races and nationalities. But little attention has been given to the other positive qualities of immigrant population, for example, the relative inventive and leadership abilities of the different nations of the world.

It is not known whether the advocates of selective immigration would change their point of view if they realized that several eastern and southern countries of Europe have sent more foreign-born persons to the United States who have been recognized in *Who's Who in America* than have some of the western and northern countries.¹ But we do know that the only data upon which to base sensible immigration laws take into account the probability that a certain number of immigrants from a favored country will contribute more desirable qualities to the immigrant-receiving country than the same number of immigrants from an unfavored country. Furthermore, if immigrants from any country or group of countries are received, they

¹ Notably Russia, Italy, and Austria.

should be only those from countries that, according to actual information, have sent the most desirable qualities per unit of immigrant population at the time of the most recent study.

Table I contains the ratios of the foreign-born male population 21 years of age and over to the foreign-born persons given recognition in *Who's Who in America* for each country.* Countries that send persons of two races, such as China, India, Mexico, and the West Indies, have been omitted because there is no way of telling what the ratio is between number of persons born in such a country and recognized in *Who's Who in America* and the total number of foreign-born of the same racial type born in the same country and living in the United States. We know neither the precise racial constitution of persons recognized by *Who's Who in America* nor the precise racial constitution, by age and sex, of the population born in these countries and residing in the United States. For example, in 1920-21 there was one person born in China and recognized by *Who's Who in America* to every 2,015 foreign-born male Chinese 21 years of age and over residing in the United States. This was a higher ratio of production than that of such European countries as Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, and Ireland, and much higher than for the southern and eastern European countries. But most of the nineteen recognized persons were of the white race, the children of missionaries or business men or others. Consequently, figures for Asiatic countries show nothing about the quality of the Asiatics as immigrants to the United States.

According to Table I, the most productive country in 1900 was Australia, with one person recognized by *Who's*

*Editorial Note: Table I as originally prepared by the author contained data for 1910-1911 and for 1920-1921, which because of lack of space have been omitted from the published table. The references in the article to the materials that are thus omitted have not been changed.

TABLE I

RATIOS OF PERSONS OF FOREIGN BIRTH RECOGNIZED BY *Who's Who in America* TO THE FOREIGN-BORN MALE POPULATION
TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER*

Country of birth	Number of names in <i>Who's Who</i> in <i>America</i>	Male Population 21 years and over residing in the United States	Ratio Column 2 to Column 1
1899-1900			
Armenia	-	-	-
Australia	3	3,207	1,069
Austria	31	143,669	4,635
Austria-Hungary	See Austria and Hungary		
Belgium	9	15,060	1,673
Bohemia	6	70,547	11,758
Bulgaria	-	-	-
Canada	119	507,470	4,264
Czechoslovakia	-	-	-
Denmark	5	83,235	16,647
England	209	419,540	2,007
France	34	55,283	1,626
Germany	165	1,332,359	8,075
Greece	2	6,349	3,175
Hungary	7	72,986	10,427
Iceland	-	-	-
Ireland	106	725,692	6,846
Italy	15	253,130	16,875
Latvia	-	-	-
Lithuania	-	-	-
The Netherlands	10	45,661	4,566
Norway	9	174,480	19,387
Palestine	-	-	-
Poland	4	183,548	45,887

* The data on number of prominent persons were taken from the various editions of *Who's Who in America* (1899-1900, p. xiii; 1930-1931, p. 19). The figures on population are taken from various United States Census reports, except in the specific instances mentioned in the table. The data on prominent persons have been corrected for the ambassadors, envoys, and ministers from foreign countries to the United States who were listed in *Who's Who in America*. The totals thus consist of "immigrants" to the United States. The ambassador from Great Britain was counted as English; the minister from Sweden and Norway in 1900 was counted Swedish; and the one from Austria-Hungary in 1900 was counted as from Austria.

ORIGINS OF PROMINENT IMMIGRANTS

425

Portugal	1	18,892	18,892
Rumania	1	5,604	5,604
Russia	14	173,149	12,368
Scotland	76	116,899	1,538
Serbia	1	(a)	—
Spain	2	5,087	2,544
Sweden	* 14	296,303	21,165
Switzerland	10	63,524	6,352
Syria	7	(a)	—
Wales	13	46,568	3,582
Yugoslavia	—	—	—
Born at sea	8	4,204	526
<hr/>			
Total foreign-born in			
<i>Who's Who in America</i>	955	5,102,534	5,343
<hr/>			
American-born in			
<i>Who's Who in America</i>	7,628	16,031,765	2,102
<hr/>			
1930-1931			
<hr/>			
Armenia	3	18,240	6,080
Australia	27	6,257	232
Austria	54	188,070	3,483
Austria-Hungary	See Austria and Hungary		
Belgium	16	33,260	2,079
Bohemia	See Czechoslovakia		
Bulgaria	3	7,346	2,449
Canada	613	531,685	867
Czechoslovakia	20	246,763 (b)	12,338
Denmark	29	107,423	3,704
England	478	391,838	820
Finland	1	75,331	75,331
France	73	63,246	866
Germany	315	813,294	2,582
Greece	2	125,619	62,810
Hungary	34	133,697	3,932
Iceland	3	1,358	453
Ireland	112	394,845	3,525
Italy	66	986,531	14,947
Latvia	4	10,687	2,672
Lithuania	5	109,223	21,845
Luxemburg	2	5,383	2,692
The Netherlands	31	73,288	2,364
Norway	54	191,248	3,542
Palestine	1	3,106	3,106

(a) population not differentiated in Census data

(b) includes Bohemia

Poland	33	656,348	19,889
Rumania	10	75,241	7,524
Russia	129	589,065	4,566
Scotland	135	163,588	1,212
Serbia	See Yugoslavia		
Spain	3	40,250	13,417
Sweden	94	326,663	3,475
Switzerland	42	62,951	1,499
Syria	13	30,994	2,384
Wales	27	30,646	1,135
Yugoslavia	4	126,732	31,683
Born at sea	9	2,531	281
<hr/>			
Total foreign-born in <i>Who's Who in America</i>	2,717	7,218,977	2,657
<hr/>			
American-born in <i>Who's Who in America</i>	26,679	29,837,780	1,118

Who in America to every 1,069 males 21 years of age and over born in Australia and living in the United States. Other countries below the average for the entire foreign-born group, in order were Scotland, France, Belgium, England, Spain, Greece, Wales, Canada, the Netherlands, and Austria. The least productive countries were Finland, Poland, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Italy, and Denmark.

In 1930 Australia retained her pre-eminent position, followed in order by Iceland, England, France, Canada, Wales, Scotland, Turkey, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Syria, Bulgaria, and Germany, all of which were more productive than the average foreign-born group. The least productive countries were Portugal, Finland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Poland, Italy, Spain, and Czechoslovakia.

A number of countries showed declines in the size of the ratios, which is to say that there was a trend toward greater production of eminent men during the period. Those which showed a consistent increase in production were Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, England, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wales.

The total foreign-born and the total in *Who's Who in America* also showed consistent declines in ratios. Net decline in ratio over the total period without consistency of trends was exhibited by France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia, and Scotland. In contrast with these countries, Spain and Portugal showed consistent decline in production; Belgium, Greece, and Rumania showed a net but inconsistent decline; and Finland was very unproductive throughout the entire period of study.

Factors associated with production of eminent men. It is interesting to note that numerous facts which have a bearing upon the value of immigration to a country are closely associated with the production of eminent men disclosed in this study. Similarity of language is one thing. The English-speaking countries, as a group, stand out above the Latin, Germanic, and Slavic countries, in order, as a study of the table will indicate. A similar national religion is also of importance. Thus non-Lutheran Protestant nations are most productive of foreign-born notable Americans, followed in order by Lutheran Protestant nations, Roman Catholic, and Greek Catholic nations.

Literacy of the population is also closely associated with the production of eminent men. For example, Switzerland and the United Kingdom were near the top in producing eminent men and had populations about 99 per cent literate, while Greece, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Lithuania, and Portugal were relatively illiterate and likewise were low in production of notable persons. A correlation coefficient of $+.64 \pm .08$ was obtained for production of eminent men related to percentage of the population which was literate.²

² All coefficients, unless otherwise noted, are based on the Spearman rank-difference formula. Data from the 1920 *Who's Who in America* were employed because 1920 was the date nearest the period when most literacy rates were available. The countries included in this computation were Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia.

Several other fairly high correlations with social facts deserve mention. Per capita wealth between the years 1920 and 1925, when correlated with the 1920-21 ratios of prominent men, resulted in a coefficient of $+.63 \pm .09$.³ Patenting performance in 1925, calculated by Mark Jefferson,⁴ was correlated almost as closely, the coefficient being $+.62 \pm .09$.⁵ Some data on intelligence are also worthy of mention. Production of eminent men is closely related both to the intelligence test performance of soldiers of foreign stock on the Army mental tests and that of native-born American children of certain nationality groups. The first coefficient was $+.78 \pm .07$; the latter was $+.72 \pm .08$.⁶ Both of these surpass most of the other measures of relationship.

Finally, there is the culture index. Again we employ data from Jefferson's article. He calculated an index of general culture for 1905 on the basis of data on schools, commerce, railway service, and mail service; and a second index for 1925 on the basis of schools, commerce, railway mileage, railway freight, mail service, number of automobiles, number of telephones, number of large cities, and patenting performance. The association of the 1905 index

³ Countries included were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, United Kingdom, Sweden, and Switzerland. Data for prewar Germany were employed.

⁴ Mark Jefferson, "The Geographical Distribution of Inventiveness," *Geographical Review*, 19: 649-61, 1929.

⁵ The countries included Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, Lithuania, Portugal, England, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Bulgaria, Sweden, Austria, France, Denmark, Belgium, and Rumania.

⁶ Data for adult intelligence were from C. C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence*, Princeton, 1925. The countries included were England, Scotland, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Canada, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Ireland, Austria, Greece, Russia, Italy, and Poland. Data for child intelligence were from R. Pintner, *Intelligence Testing*, New Edition, New York, 1931, pp. 457-459. The nationalities included English, Scotch, Irish, German, Swedish, Norwegian, French, Bohemian, Polish, Lithuanian, Finnish, Hungarian, Portuguese, Greek, and Armenian. The 1920-21 data were employed for adult intelligence, and the 1930-31 data for the other comparison.

with the 1910-11 *Who's Who in America* data, and that of the 1925 index with the 1930-31 *Who's Who in America* data were studied by the method of mean square contingency, and respective coefficients of $+.75$ and $+.56$ were obtained,⁷ showing considerable relationship between the culture index and national production of eminent men.

Bearing on immigration laws. Thus there are many facts about the various countries that are closely associated with the production of eminent men. These associated facts are fairly good indices of the production of eminent men, and the production of eminent men is also a fairly good index of these other conditions. It is even apparent that a study of eminent men might serve as a useful means of determining the general culture index of a country, just as the study of culture index would aid one in estimating the probable production of eminent men per unit of population. But the most important point about these conditions associated with production of eminent men is that its production of eminent men is an index of the quality of an immigrant population, meaning by quality a combination of native ability with many social and cultural conditions existing at any time within the country and subject to change over a period of years.

We can go further and say that these national differences have pretty definite implications for present and future immigration laws. For example, the ratios of production of eminent Americans by the various foreign-born populations do shed some light on the value of immigration law of 1924, which favored immigration from the northern and western countries of Europe at the ex-

⁷ The first coefficient was based on a study of British Isles, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, France, Norway, Sweden, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Finland, Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Russia, and Portugal. For the second comparison the countries were the same except that British Isles was divided into Great Britain and Irish Free State, Austria-Hungary into Austria and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Yugoslavia were added.

pense of the southern and eastern countries, and on the value of the National Origins provisions under which immigration is now regulated. The 1924 law served to reduce sharply the number of immigrants from the countries of Europe which have sent the smallest number of notable Americans per unit of population, while the number of immigrants from other European countries was kept as nearly as possible what it was in 1921. Data presented in this article show that the reduction of the number from Czechoslovakia, Finland, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, and Yugoslavia certainly is well justified. And the same is true of the attempt to maintain the number of immigrants admitted from British Isles, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. But according to this study, the reduction of immigration from Austria, Scandinavia, Hungary, Russia, and Switzerland was unjustifiably large in proportion to their production of eminent men. This is particularly true of Switzerland, which according to both the present and other studies of quality of population, is in the top rank of European nations.⁸ In addition, France deserves a considerably larger quota than was permitted.

The National Origins provisions do not agree as well with data on prominent men as did the 1924 law. The quotas of Great Britain and Ireland are somewhat too large, and those of Switzerland, France, and Scandinavia are too small, while the permission for certain countries of southern and eastern Europe to send more immigrants per year after 1927 than from 1924 to 1927 is not justified.

Of course, it would be unwise to say that the production of persons recognized by *Who's Who in America* is sufficient to determine the maximum proportion of future immigration that should be received from each country,

⁸ For example, Cattell's studies of scientists from 1903 to 1927 show the superiority of Switzerland. See *American Men of Science*, Fifth edition, 1933, p. 1265.

or that the quota from each country should exactly correspond to the ratio of production disclosed in Table I. We are still far too much in the dark concerning the actual causes of rise to prominence. We do not know how much is due to inherited factors and how much to environmental conditions; and we do not know just what degree of selection has occurred in the population under consideration, or whether the same type of population would migrate in the future as has come in the past.

However, it would be valuable for immigration to be selected on the basis of quality alone and without regard to a certain proportion of the population. Consequently, studies should be carried out with a view of determining what complex of characteristics of the population it is most desirable for immigrants to possess, and only immigration from countries that will send that type should be admitted. If no countries will select the type that Americans desire, and if Americans neglect to make accurate selection by adequate study of prospective and arriving immigrants, a good plan would be to make more complete studies of the present sort and select future immigration on the basis of the known ability of past immigration to produce leaders and others who have made and are making important positive contributions to American life.

MARRIAGE ANNULMENTS

T. EARL SULLENGER

and

HOWARD FISCHER

Municipal University of Omaha

In considering the question of the severance of the marriage relations we are concerned with divorce and annulment. This paper deals with a study of marriage annulments that were dealt with by the Domestic Relations Court in Douglas County, Nebraska, during the ten-year period from January 1, 1923, through December 31, 1932.

During this period there were filed in this court three hundred forty-four petitions asking for annulments of marriage. From this number only two hundred forty-two or 70.4 per cent were granted by the court. The remaining one hundred two were divided into three classes: fifty-six cases, or 16.8 per cent, were dismissed for want of prosecution; that is, the plaintiff after filing his petition took no further step, and after a certain period of time the case was automatically dismissed. Thirty-eight cases ended in divorce; that is, the defendant usually contested the case, denying the plaintiff's allegations, and asked for a divorce on his or her own behalf. Only eight cases of annulment were denied outright with no affirmative relief given to either party. The greatest number of annulments was reached in 1929, when 49 cases were recorded; the lowest number was recorded in 1924, when only 18 cases were filed.

It has been found in a study made of divorces during this same period in Douglas County, that in 1,106 cases studied, 80.6 per cent of the suits were brought by the wife and 19.4 per cent of the suits were brought by the

husband.¹ The general trend of the annulment cases is quite different. Of these, 36.1 per cent were brought by the wife, 26.1 per cent were brought by the husband, 25.6 per cent were brought by some other party as next friend to the wife, and 12.2 per cent were brought by the next friend of the husband. In the last two classes of cases the action was brought by someone other than the actual party because the party, being a minor, had no standing in court. In the eight cases based on the insanity of one of the parties, three were brought by the guardian of the insane.

One hundred thirty-two or 40.6 per cent of the cases studied were granted on the grounds of bigamy, that is, one of the parties at the time of the marriage had a previous husband or wife living, from whom he or she had obtained no divorce. In 54 per cent of the one hundred thirty-two bigamous marriages, the wife was guilty of bigamy. Most of these, however, were not willful, but were because of ignorance of the law. In nearly all of the states a divorce does not become absolute so as to allow remarriage of either of the parties for a certain period of time, and any marriage before that time has elapsed is bigamous.

One hundred thirteen or 35.1 per cent of all the annulments were granted for the nonage of one or both of the parties.² As has been noted, practically all the annulments for lack of sufficient age were brought by the parents or guardian of the minor. However, out of the one hundred

¹ T. Earl Sullenger, *Studies in Urban Sociology* (Omaha: Bureau of Social Research, Municipal University of Omaha, 1933), p. 37

² In only ninety-five cases out of the entire number of annulments were the ages of the parties disclosed and these were, with one exception, in cases where nonage was the grounds for the suit. The average age of the wives, who were granted annulments for nonage, was sixteen years and that of the husbands was eighteen years.

The youngest female who attempted to become a wife during these ten years was thirteen years old, and the youngest male attempting to become a husband was fifteen.

thirteen annulments brought for lack of sufficient age, fifteen or 13.2 per cent were brought by one of the parties to the marriage after attaining the age of twenty-one.

A large difference in ages may also be noticed in several cases. For instance, in one case the husband at the time of the marriage ceremony was seventeen and the wife twenty-four. Another case shows that the husband was eighteen and the wife twenty-seven. In each of these cases the wife was a woman of considerable experience in life and the husband, an easily influenced boy who had been more or less neglected at home and was easily persuaded to marry without realizing the responsibility or consequences.

Although not so numerous, but equally significant, are the marriages induced by fraud. Thirty cases, or 9.3 per cent of the annulments, were granted because the contract of marriage was induced by fraud upon the part of one of the parties. False representations as to various conditions ranging all the way from financial status to health have been alleged as grounds for annulling the marriage. For two years a couple had been engaged to be married, both residing in Omaha the entire time; they were married and lived together for two days, during which time the wife learned that he was the father of an unborn child of another woman. During the whole time previous she had been unaware of her fiance's double life. Other cases were found where the husbands claimed that they had good jobs but were engaged in some kind of crime.

Three and three-tenths per cent, or eleven cases, of the annulled marriages were entered into through duress. In each of these cases the husband was the guilty party, threatening the wife if she would not marry him. A young man, age 22, wanted a girl, age 19, to marry him. He had asked her many times but was refused. Finally, he told her that unless she consented, he would kill himself in her

presence or force her to kill him. After several threats of such violence, she through fear and mental and physical duress married him on Christmas day. She left him and secured employment. They were both from good families.

Drunkenness at the time of the ceremony was the cause of annulling fourteen or 4.5 per cent of the marriages. These cases were based on allegations that one or both of the parties were so intoxicated at the time of the marriage that they did not fully realize what they were doing or the nature of the undertaking into which they were entering.

One typical case was that of a couple who met on a "blind date" one evening. They went on a party with a number of other young people, and all of them became intoxicated. Early in the morning of the following day, having been dared by their friends to get married, they secured a marriage license and went through a marriage ceremony. They were both so intoxicated that they had no realization of what they were doing. Three days later the wife filed suit to annul the marriage. The wife isn't always the injured party. In the following case the wife was a dope fiend at the age of 25. The husband was a young man of 20, easily led. The girl gave the boy a dose of alleged "opium juice," and took him, while under the influence of this drug, to a justice of the peace and had a marriage ceremony performed. He also later discovered that the wife was the mother of an illegitimate child.

Eleven cases, or 3.3 per cent, were granted on the ground of mental incapacity. This is ground for annulment only when the party was insane previous to and at the time of the marriage, and he must not have confirmed the contract at any time during a lucid interval. In one instance a couple were married early in the evening. About eleven o'clock they went to a hotel. The wife left the room for a short time. On her return she found her husband

lying on the floor in a fit of insanity. Investigations revealed that he had been intermittently insane for some time. Another case revealed that the wife was incurably insane. Many such cases are not discovered in time to seek annulment and the individuals are doomed for their entire married life.

Three and five-tenths per cent, or eleven of the annulments, were granted on the grounds of physical incapacity. Three of these cases were brought by the husband and the remaining eight by the wife. In one of the former cases the wife was afflicted with a venereal disease unknown to the plaintiff until after the marriage. He did not bring the suit however until about two years later.³

In three hundred four cases the place where the marriage ceremony took place was disclosed. Out of these three hundred four, only forty-eight or 15.9 per cent of the marriages took place in Omaha. It is interesting to note that 28.2 per cent of the marriages took place in Council Bluffs, Iowa, 11.04 per cent in Glenwood, Iowa, and 8.5 per cent in other towns in Iowa. Thus 48.1 per cent, practically one-half of all the marriages which were annulled in Douglas County, Nebraska, during this ten-year period, were solemnized in the state of Iowa.

In Papillion, Sarpy County, Nebraska, forty-three or 14.1 per cent of the marriages were solemnized and twenty-two or 7.2 per cent took place in other towns in Nebraska. Only 37.1 per cent of these three hundred four mar-

³ Only two incestuous marriages were annulled during the ten-year period. In both cases the parties were first cousins, which relationship in most states is considered too close to allow a marriage.

In two cases the wife was of the Caucasian race and the husband was more than one-eighth Negro. In one of these cases the husband represented himself as being one-half Mexican.

There were three cases of mistake of law. In each of these a license was secured in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and the parties came to Omaha and were married, not knowing that an Iowa license was ineffective in Nebraska. This shows an incompetency on the part of the marrying magistrate more than on the parties themselves.

riages took place in Nebraska, and of these only 15.8 per cent were solemnized in Douglas County. The remaining 14.8 per cent were married in states other than Nebraska and Iowa, ranging all the way from Texas to New York and Washington. Some of the marriages in states farther away do not indicate elopements, as do the ones in Iowa and small towns in Nebraska. Twelve of the marriages, however, took place in border towns in the states of Kansas and Missouri; clearly indicating that the couples aimed to evade the Nebraska laws and to run away from their families.

Noteworthy, though not so significant as other features of the study, is the period of time that the party waited after the marriage before the suit was brought. The average time elapsing between the time of the marriage and the time the suit was brought for all the cases over the ten-year period was fourteen months. The longest period was in the case of a bigamous marriage which took place in October, 1912, and the annulment was not filed until February, 1924, after a period of almost twelve years; however, the parties lived together for only a very short time. The shortest time was two days in the case already referred to, where the parties were intoxicated at the time of the ceremony, and the wife brought the annulment as soon as possible. The general trend seems to be that in cases of nonage the suits are usually brought by the parents in a comparatively short time. In cases of bigamous marriages the time is usually considerably longer.

The difficulty which is apparent in practically all these cases is that at the time of the marriage there were certain facts which were concealed either from the other party or from the clerk issuing the marriage license. The former cases are usually the result of a too hasty marriage. The parties expect to find out in a few short months, or weeks,

and sometimes even days, the character, background, idiosyncracies, temperaments, and personalities of the parties with whom they intend, or should intend, to spend the rest of their lives, and with whom they intend to bear and rear their children. There can be little stability in a society whose members unthinkingly and recklessly rush into the relationship upon which depends the future of society. It should be impressed upon the minds of the young people that the marriage relationship is not merely an adventure, the mistakes of which can be easily remedied, but that it is a serious undertaking worthy of careful consideration and thoughtful deliberation before entering upon it. It can be safely said that the great majority of these marriages which had to be annulled by the courts were entered into without the parties realizing what they were doing and what their obligations were. The law does the best it can by declaring these marriages annulled, but this does not save the institution of marriage the prestige and respect due it.

The following are suggested recommendations which, if carried out, should tend to alleviate the problem and lessen the number of thoughtless marriages which take place each year in the United States:

1. There should be a federal enactment prescribing the minimum requirements for a valid marriage, and sufficient machinery for a strict enforcement of this law. Each party should be required to present his qualifications, not merely his own statement but with sufficient corroborative proof, in order that each party, as well as society, may know whether the other is fit to enter into a marriage contract.

2. There should be a federal law requiring a period of time after the application before the license is issued, and a publication of the names for a sufficient time to avoid secretive and hasty marriages.

3. The sacredness of the marriage relationship should be instilled in the minds of the young people, so that they will not enter into a marriage without a full realization of their responsibilities.

4. There should be, above all, a system of administration whereby persons unfit to marry by the standards set by society should be absolutely prevented from so doing.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND RECENT BILLS OF RIGHTS

LEILA R. CUSTARD

Maryland College

A REFERENCE to the movement for social welfare that began in the late nineteenth century ordinarily brings to memory a long series of varied legislative struggles and accomplishments. It suggests too a significant change in the size and content of the more recent constitutions—an expansion to vast proportions, as compared with earlier instruments, and a tendency to treat new and formerly undreamed-of topics with a most meticulous fullness of detail. But this quest for social justice went even deeper. It reached down into the most inviolable portion of fundamental law and effected a transformation in those very basic specifications of democratic government, the bills of rights of the state constitutions.

A survey of the bills of rights which Americans have been making for more than three hundred years reveals a very definite change in purpose and point of view in the recent bills of rights, that can be explained only as an expression—and perhaps the most important expression—of the movement for social welfare.

Originally, a bill of rights—which since Revolutionary days has normally formed the introductory portion of nearly every state constitution—was intended to draw a distinct boundary line. It separated the rights of the individual, possessed in his own nature as a human being—rights inalienable and indefeasible—from the power of the state which was being fashioned by the people in their sovereign capacity. It defined the sphere of rights of the individual which was inviolable by the state.

Until well into the nineteenth century, the phrases of bills of rights were permeated by a dominant tone of individualism. The citizen was the center of the civil and political system. For his benefit alone the state had been brought into existence. And while successive frontiers were being opened, the actuality did not fit the theory.

Then American life underwent a change. Industrialism gradually transformed the whole scheme of things. To the few it gave large opportunities to exploit both natural resources and their fellow men. From the many it took away more and more their freedom of action. Under the impulse of industrialism, government was used for selfish and private purposes. Unbridled individualism knew no restraints when determined to secure special privileges.

The old bills of rights were left waving their banners over a new world. New ones for a time repeated the traditional principles, but they stood in danger of sinking to the level of mere glittering generalities, or even of gradually disappearing as useless anomalies. Adaption, adjustment to suit new realities, were imperative. The only alternative was the extinction of this typically American institution.

The end did not come, however. Instead, there has been a new definition of objectives, a fresh orientation, that have marked a distinct period of unfoldment. Men recognized that the old *laissez-faire* attitude was a failure when it came to conserving the rights of all in equal measure. Great numbers were aroused to a mighty quest for social justice, and they expressed their resolves in the most fundamental portions of the new state constitutions. They embodied them also in the carefully designated bills of rights of the organic law for the recently acquired dependencies of the American people.

A lately framed Bill of Rights, that of Louisiana made in 1921, declares that the only legitimate end of govern-

ment is to secure justice to all, to maintain peace, and to promote the interest and happiness of the people. These words give evidence of a shifting of emphasis. First, the individual has been moved out of the center of the picture, and the commonalty, or common good, has replaced him. Next, note that there is no mention of rights—a term of acquisition. Justice, a term of extension, has supplanted the old objective. America's newest bills of rights have shaken off the dust of the eighteenth century. They announce new purposes and fling forth vaster ideals.

But this is not all. Americans have attempted to adapt not only the spirit but also the detailed content of their fundamental pronouncements to the needs of a changed world. In this effort, their basic revision has been an about-face in their attitude toward the power of the state. Where in the past they filled their declarations with prohibitions on the power of government, they now are using this most basic portion of their fundamental law to empower the state to *do*; and they are directing it to act in constructive ways promotive of the interests of the whole body of citizens. Where they have found it necessary, however, they have been ruthless in curtailing, even more stringently than ever before, certain powers of the state in order to protect the interests of society.

An interesting case in point is the gradual change in the attitude toward special privilege. Bills of rights of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, for example, made no exceptions to their ruling that the general assemblies should not grant any special privileges or immunities which might not be altered, repealed, or revoked by the same power that gave them; and that they should not grant to any citizen or class of citizens, privileges, or immunities, which should not upon the same terms equally belong to all citizens. In the seventies, they advanced to

the definite mention of corporations, and introduced, among other changes, clauses protecting the money, property and credit of the state, or any of its political subdivisions, against the self-interested machinations of any society, association, or corporation.¹ In the eighties, bills of rights went to the extent of declaring corporations to be the creatures of the state, and therefore subject to its control. Twenty years later, the affairs of corporations were declared to be liable and subject at all times "to the full visitatorial and inquisitorial powers of the state, notwithstanding the immunities and privileges in this Bill of Rights secured to the persons, inhabitants, and citizens thereof."² Special provisions were even made in bills of rights for obtaining evidence against corporations in cases where they are accused of violating the state laws regulating trusts and corporate activities.³

Another notable change is seen in the attitude toward private property. The social welfare ideal has completely transformed the concept of eminent domain. Originally, bills of rights carried only the simplest and most categorical clauses on this subject, guaranteeing that the property of the individual should not be taken or applied to public use without the consent of his representatives, and without just compensation having first been paid. To this solid principle, the East was long very reluctant to admit any exceptions. The West, on the contrary, developed—due, of course, to its peculiar land problems—the most interesting special departures. Gradually, the rights of the

¹ For example, the two amendments passed by New Jersey in 1875 and added to its Bill of Rights of 1844 as sections 19 and 20. They may be found in F. N. Thorpe, ed., *Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. V., p. 2,600.

² Bill of Rights of the Oklahoma Constitution of 1907, section 28, *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 4,276.

³ For example, section 19 of Arizona's Bill of Rights (1912), C. Kettleborough, ed., *The State Constitutions and the Federal Constitution and Organic Laws of the Territories and other Colonial Dependencies of the United States of America*, p. 57.

individual had to give way more and more before certain well-defined "public uses." This enlargement of the state's authority to intervene for the public good necessitated many amendments to bills of rights, East and West. Some provided for taking private property for private use. Others expanded the meaning of "public use" to include surprising purposes.

Washington announced, for example, that "the taking of private property by the state for land reclamation and settlement purposes is hereby declared to be for public use."⁴ Oregon made amendments in 1920 and 1924 to provide that:

the use of all roads, ways and waterways necessary to promote the transportation of the raw products of mine or farm or forest or water for beneficial use or drainage is necessary to the development and welfare of the state and is declared a public use.⁵

Across the continent, Massachusetts also passed amendments ruling that the conservation, development, and utilization of the agricultural, mineral, forest, water, and other natural resources are public uses. But she was prepared to go much farther. She designated "certain public uses to which property may be appropriated" and thereby authorized the general court to empower the state to take land, and to hold, improve, subdivide, and build upon it for the purpose of relieving congestion of population and providing homes for citizens. She stretched this clause to cover the objectives of culture, announcing that "the preservation and maintenance of ancient land-marks and other property of historical or antiquarian interest is a public use."⁶ New York and California have joined her in

⁴ Sec. 16, *Remington's Revised Statutes of Washington*, vol. I, p 524.

⁵ Section 18, *Oregon Blue Book*, 1927-1928, p. 27.

⁶ Section cvii, *The General Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, 1921.

allowing the state to acquire by condemnation lands for memorial grounds and parks.

With social ends in view, the word "property" was extended to its ultimate limits in the Massachusetts declaration that:

The maintenance and distribution at reasonable rates, during time of war, public exigency, emergency or distress, of a sufficient supply of food and other common necessities of life, and the providing of shelter are public functions, and the commonwealth and the cities and towns therein may take and may provide the same for their inhabitants in such manner as the General Court shall determine.⁷

The elaborate provisions for excess condemnation, as fully detailed in recent bills of rights or in amendments to old ones, also show the vital force of the modern social ideal.

The new social welfare spirit has been the force animating the many amendments to the bill-of-rights provisions for justice to persons accused of crime. Complete illustration of this point would require a volume, however, and this passing reference must suffice here.

Social security features have forced their way into some recent bills of rights. Of course, these have been enacted by many states without any reference to the bill-of-rights sections of their constitutions, but in some cases the Bill of Rights has been enlarged by the addition of a new clause, giving legislatures unlimited powers to enact laws for the protection of the lives, health, and safety of employees and even to institute systems for social insurance and compulsory compensation.⁸ The Bill of Rights included in the Organic Act passed in 1917 for the government of Puerto Rico contains many of these provisions for social welfare.

⁷ Section c, *ibid.*

⁸ See the Arizona Bill of Rights, (1912) and amendments made to the bills of Ohio, in 1912 and New York, in 1913, for example.

And the Philippine Commission was instructed in 1900 to "observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people."⁹

The social welfare ideal can be clearly read in many other principles either newly introduced into bills of rights or adapted to satisfy a changing point of view. Abstractions have practically disappeared. Carefully-wrought phalanxes of details have replaced them. More than once, constitutional conventions have been warned that whatever is included in a bill of rights must be capable of judicial application—which doubtless accounts for the exact, even meticulous phrasing which is a feature of recent declarations.

A survey of this gradual transformation in the most basic and fundamental law of our state governments, made against a background that keeps in perspective the changes in our political and economic life, is a heart-warming and tonic experience. It renews faith in "government by the people," slow though it may be in achieving its glorious ultimate goal.

⁹ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 3163.

RECREATION EQUIPMENT OF UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN

EVERETT W. DU VALL

Director, Child Welfare Clinic, All Nations Foundation, Los Angeles

QUANTITATIVE analysis of the data obtained through giving recreation interviews¹ to 405 underprivileged children, who live in an "interstitial area" of Los Angeles, reveals some interesting information with regard to the play equipment possessed and desired by the 200 girls and 205 boys. Averaging about twelve years, these children range in age from six to eighteen years. More than three fourths of their families are on relief and about four fifths of their parents are of foreign birth.

The children were interviewed by members of the staff of the Child Welfare Clinic of All Nations Foundation and, as family histories were available for all cases, it was possible to check on many of the statements made.

Table I shows the reported availability of the forty-two items of play equipment listed in the questionnaire. Every item on the list was inaccessible to at least one child out of four and only eight items—baseball, yard, swimming suit, cards, radio, camera, football, and marbles—were owned or shared by more than half of the children. One fourth of the items were available to only ten per cent (or less) of the children. The various items were owned and shared, on the average, by an approximately equal number of children. The average item was available to 122 children.

Unlike other metropolitan cities, Los Angeles has no typical tenement district, but the area in which these chil-

¹ Description and method of administration have been reported in *Sociology and Social Research*, 17:588-91, July-August, 1933.

TABLE I
AVAILABLE RECREATION EQUIPMENT

<i>Items of play equipment</i>	<i>Number of children</i>			<i>Per cent of children having access to</i>
	<i>Owning</i>	<i>Sharing</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Cards	168	116	284	70.1
Checkers	49	71	120	29.6
Dominoes	20	42	62	15.4
Puzzles	101	82	183	45.2
Parchesi	6	6	12	3.
Pool	6	26	32	7.9
Ping-pong	23	42	65	16.
Radio	25	243	268	66.2
Piano	10	64	74	18.3
Other musical instruments	21	143	164	40.2
Automobile	13	143	156	38.5
Camera	61	165	226	55.8
Yard	35	270	305	75.3
Outdoor apparatus	3	16	19	4.7
Baseball	204	100	304	75.1
Bat	120	70	190	46.9
Football	72	137	209	51.6
Gloves	61	38	99	24.4
Tennis racquet	56	28	84	20.7
Swimming suit	272	23	295	72.8
Camping equipment	42	28	70	17.3
Bicycle	49	32	81	20.
Tricycle	11	20	31	7.7
Scooter	23	17	40	9.9
Wagon	41	49	90	22.2
Sled	6	1	7	1.7
Ice Skates	4	1	5	1.2
Roller skates	119	31	150	37.
Marbles	134	86	220	54.3
Tops	106	49	155	38.3
Jackstones	71	42	113	28.
Jumping rope	79	60	139	34.3
Dolls and doll equipment	131	44	175	43.2
Boats (toy)	60	22	82	20.2
Model aeroplanes	42	29	71	17.5
Electrical toys	29	15	44	10.9
Mechanical toys	20	20	40	9.9
Building sets	23	9	32	7.9
Tools	80	68	148	36.5
Jackknife	102	25	127	31.1
Drawing materials	102	36	138	34.
Modelling clay	6	7	13	3.2

dren live has a large number of cheap hotels and apartment houses that cover the entire lot and provide no play space for the children. One fourth of the boys and girls live in these crowded quarters and, since many of the "vacant" lots in the area are used for parking cars or open-air markets for used automobiles, they have no place to play but the traffic laden streets or the yards of their friends.

Considering the economic circumstances of their families, it is surprising to note that two thirds of the children have access to a radio, one out of five has a piano available, and forty per cent own or share other musical instruments. Equipment for constructive activities—drawing materials, tools, modelling clay, and building sets—is available, however, to only one child out of five. Nearly thirty per cent more children own or share the quiet games—cards, checkers, dominoes, puzzles, and parchesi—than have access to those items of equipment that make for mobility—bicycles, automobiles, scooters, wagons, and roller skates. For those games involving competition between a small number of children—ping-pong, pool, tennis, marbles, tops, and jackstones—equipment is available, on the average, to only a third of the boys and girls; for the team games in which competition is between groups—baseball and football—the balls, bats, and gloves are owned or shared by more than half of the children.

Table II shows the distribution of play equipment and extent to which various quantities are owned and shared. Equal division of the 5,122 units of available equipment among the 405 children would give each child about 12 units. There were nineteen children who had no individual possessions and thirty-four was the largest number of items available to one child.

Although ninety per cent of the children reported that they "Like to read," less than half of the children have any

books of their own. There were 132 children who owned less than ten books, 49 possessed from ten to fifty, and only three had more than fifty books. The public library is the source of reading material for 140 children, the school library is used by 67, and 36 borrow books from the community center of which all of these children are members. About half of the boys and girls reported that they "are allowed to read what they like." This failure to supervise the reading of their children may be accounted for by the fact that more than forty per cent of the parents are unable to read English. One result of this situation is that the seventy per cent of the children who read magazines select "movie" and cheap, pulp-paper periodicals three times as often as those magazines which careful parents would choose for their children.

As most of the children live in what might be called the "down-town" area, it is somewhat surprising to note the variety and number of pets which they have in their

TABLE II
EXTENT TO WHICH PLAY EQUIPMENT WAS AVAILABLE

<i>Number of units</i>	<i>Number of children:</i>			<i>Number of units</i>	<i>Number of children:</i>		
	<i>Owning</i>	<i>Sharing</i>	<i>Both</i>		<i>Owning</i>	<i>Sharing</i>	<i>Both</i>
None	19	18	0	16	8	2	16
1	26	27	1	17	7	4	28
2	47	38	4	18	1	3	15
3	36	52	8	19	0	2	16
4	44	50	25	20	3	1	11
5	37	29	14	21	1	0	14
6	35	37	16	22	0	1	3
7	23	32	22	23	1	0	9
8	17	27	30	24	0	1	2
9	18	23	23	25	1	0	1
10	20	14	27	26	0	1	2
11	16	16	27	28	0	0	2
12	8	15	21	29	0	1	2
13	7	8	22	30	0	0	1
14	9	6	22	33	0	0	1
15	11	2	19	34	0	0	1

homes. As shown in Table III, one child out of four has at least one dog and about one out of five has a cat.

In response to the question "What is your favorite possession?" ten children stated that they had no favorite possession, nineteen that they had no possessions, and fifty were uncertain or failed to reply to the question. The remaining 324 boys and girls listed 53 different articles including 41 of the 48 items of play equipment in Table I. Dolls and doll equipment, though named by girls only, were the most popular. Baseballs were second on the list of favorite possessions, followed in order by roller skates, bicycles, footballs, and radios. More than half of the children selected one of these six articles as their "favorite," while seventeen of the fifty-three different articles were each selected by only one child.

TABLE III
PETS IN THE HOME

Dogs	100	Chickens	10	Rats	2
Cats	75	Ducks	8	Turtles	2
Birds	27	Fish	8	Guinea Pigs	1
Rabbits	16	Pigeons	5	Goats	1

Note: The figures in this table represent the number of different children who have one or more of each of the above pets.

To the question "Is there anything you especially want?" 28 children said "No" and 76 were uncertain or did not reply. Of the 301 children who expressed specific desires, about half of the boys and a few of the girls wanted bicycles; roller skates were desired by one child out of four; and one in ten wanted an automobile. While equipment for quiet games to be played in the home was available to the larger number of boys and girls, the interests of the children as expressed in the type of equipment most wanted tended toward more mobile activity. Dolls and

doll equipment were desired by twenty-two per cent of the girls despite the fact that they were accessible to more than eighty per cent. Clothing was wanted by twenty-one per cent of the children.

These five articles—bicycles, roller skates, automobiles, clothing, and dolls and doll equipment—comprised the “wants” of two thirds of the children. The other third of the boys and girls listed an additional thirty-one articles, eight of which were mentioned by but one child each. This makes a rather narrow range of “things especially wanted” by these underprivileged children.

It is interesting to note that, although most of the boys and girls have had contact with the cultures of other nations,—eighty per cent of the parents and eleven per cent of the children were of foreign birth,—not one child mentioned an article of play equipment which might be considered foreign to the culture of this country. This may be interpreted as indicating a high degree of assimilation as far as their play life is concerned.

It is obvious that these children are “underprivileged” in the extent of their play equipment. While 21 per cent thought they had *more* play equipment than their friends and 38 per cent thought they had the *same*, 41 per cent estimated that they had *less*. A comparison of this group with a similarly studied “normal” or more privileged group would be of interest and would afford one measure of the degree to which this group is underprivileged.

EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN PENSION SYSTEM, 1883-1936*

HARVEY LEBRUN†

Berkeley, California

Early efforts. The earliest American experiment with government aid for needy aged people, other than in the form of the usual almshouse care and "poor relief," was made by California from 1883 to 1895, when an act for subsidies of \$100.00 per year per inmate in public and private institutions caring for needy aged was by court interpretation made to apply to people outside of institutions. The expenditures under the act increased from year to year until an "economy administration," following the panic of 1894, put an end to it. The act was repealed and never revived.

Nothing else affecting the needy aged was placed on the American statute books until 1907, when Massachusetts established a system of state supervised voluntary bank life insurance and old age annuities at cost. In 1911, Wisconsin set up a system of similar voluntary insurance. Neither plan functioned very much in the way of provisions against old age want.

In 1914 Arizona, by popular initiative and referendum, adopted "An Act for Old Age and Mothers' pensions." This was so loosely worded, so ambiguous, and so full of

* The data of this article are as of April 8, 1936. For articles giving later or more detailed data, see footnote 33.

† Formerly in charge of field investigations for the New York State Commission on Old Age Security, and Director of Emergency Unemployment Relief for Santa Barbara County, California; author of "Relief and the Aged" (Part II, of the *Report of the New York Commission on Old Age Security*) and of *Public Aid to the Aged in the United States* (in preparation as a Ph.D. thesis at Stanford University).

vague generalities that the State Supreme Court immediately threw it out.

The next year Alaska passed an act to provide allowances of \$12.50 a month to its aged "pioneers" in lieu of free care in the Alaska Pioneers Home.¹

Trials and errors—mostly errors. The "War to End War" temporarily put an end to further developments in the field of pension legislation in the United States. By 1922, however, popular interest in the movement for "old age security" had developed to a point where the American Association for Labor Legislation found it advisable to get together a group of interested people to draft a "Standard Bill" for old age "pensions." In 1923, bills more or less along the lines of this model were introduced in twenty-four state legislatures, favorably reported on in twelve, and enacted into law in three: Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania.

Not one of these three acts, however, ever amounted to anything. The Montana act was nominally "mandatory" on the counties but turned out to be "optional" in actual practice and few counties ever carried out the mandate.² In Pennsylvania the "Act for assistance to certain aged persons" was declared by the courts to be a violation of the state constitution's prohibition of appropriations for "charitable purposes."³

The Nevada act provided for similar state "pensions" but they were to be financed by taxes collected by the

¹ The amount has since been increased year by year till it is now \$35.00 a month for men and \$45.00 for women pioneers, while the needy white residents who are not "pioneers" may get home relief up to \$30.00 a month whether they are "aged" or not.

² The act was finally replaced in 1935, by a mandatory, state-and-county financed pension system along the lines of the requirements of the National Social Security Act.

³ Repeated attempts in later years to amend the constitution were blocked by the state's Republican political machine. In 1934, following a decision by a new State Supreme Court to the effect that unemployment relief is "poor relief" and that poor relief is an inalienable function of government, a new old age assistance law was enacted in the form of an improvement on the Poor Laws.

counties. As proved to be the case in so many of the county financed laws that were enacted later, the counties failed to raise the necessary funds and the law became a dead letter. It was replaced two years later by a county-option-al pension measure, which, like practically all county-option measures adopted later in other states, proved to be equally a dead letter.

In 1925, Wisconsin enacted an old age assistance act based on the idea of joint state-and-county financing—previously utilized in its mothers' aid legislation—and thus became the precursor of the widespread movement for joint state-and-county pensions that developed in 1929. It incorporated the principle, however, into a county-optional, judge-administered old age "pension" act, which it had to make "mandatory" ten years later—and reduce the county share of the pension costs from $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ to 30% and provide for effective state supervision—before the act could be applied effectively on a state-wide basis.

In the succeeding years, eight other states experimented with county-financed old age pension systems administered wholly or partly by judges: Kentucky⁴ (1926); Colorado⁵ and Maryland⁶ (1927); Minnesota⁷ (1929); West

⁴ Following a constitutional amendment in November, 1935, Kentucky adopted in February, 1936, a new act providing for straight state financed pensions (whose cost is to be shared by the federal government, under the provisions of the Social Security Act).

⁵ The Colorado act was made mandatory in 1931 but was then declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court because of its provisions for administration by judges. Two years later the state adopted a new act that provided for mixed state-and-county financing. In 1935, state supervision was provided to meet the requirements for federal subsidies.

⁶ Maryland eliminated its provision for administration by judges in 1931; made the act mandatory for Allegany County in 1933 and completely mandatory in 1935, when new legislation was enacted for state participation in the financing of the old age assistance.

⁷ Minnesota, like Maryland, eliminated its provision for administration by judges in 1931. In 1933 it made the legislation "mandatory." In 1935 it provided for joint state and local financing, only to have the act declared "null and void" by the state's attorney-general on account of a clerical error in the copy signed by the Governor. On Jan. 27, 1936, it enacted one of the most "liberal" state pension acts in the country (except in the matter of its \$30.00 maximum on pension grants), providing for federal, state and local financing in the proportion of 1/2, 1/3, and 1/6, respectively.

Virginia and Idaho¹³ (1931); Florida⁸ (1935). The pensions in these judge-administered systems were to be financed entirely by the counties. And, except in Idaho, the measures were everywhere originally made "optional" with the counties.

Today,⁹ only three states retain purely locally financed pension systems: Florida,⁸ Nevada, and West Virginia. No county in any of these states has ever exercised its "option" to pay pensions and none is likely to do so until that plan of operations is done away with. In all three of these states steps are already under way to eliminate the local option and the purely local financing features of their pension systems.

The approaching end of this period of trials and errors—but mostly errors—in American legislation for the aged was marked by the adoption, in Massachusetts in 1928, of a fatuous act creating a Public Bequest Fund to which philanthropically minded wealthy people could *voluntarily* contribute for the benefit of aged poor people.¹⁰

Joint state-and-county financed pension systems. By 1929 it was clear, to all who were willing to learn the lessons of past experience, that neither voluntary insurance, nor voluntary philanthropy, nor county-option measures, nor locally financed pension systems—whether optional or mandatory—nor any combination of these would meet the problem of old age want on the part of the great masses of our population. That year, California enacted legislation which inaugurated a third stage in the develop-

⁸ The Florida act is only temporarily a county option law. Actually it provides for state and county financing of the pensions; but the county share is set at any optional amount over and above the state appropriations, while the state is, for the present, prevented from making any appropriations for the purpose by a state constitutional prohibition of state expenditures for charitable purposes. A constitutional amendment to remove this restriction is to be voted on in November, 1936.

⁹ April 8, 1936.

¹⁰ One gift of \$1,000.00 has been contributed to the Fund to date!

ment of American old age assistance provision: the era of state supervised, state-and-county financed assistance, "mandatory" on all counties, and, for triple reasons therefore, practically "state-wide" in every instance.¹¹

For a few years longer, additional states continued to adopt, for longer or shorter periods, the discredited types of optional¹² or mandatory,¹³ purely locally financed old age assistance systems—all of them more or less ineffective, whether optional or mandatory. Gradually, however, more and more states adopted or changed to the California plan of mandatory, state supervised, joint state-and-county financed old age assistance. New York and Massachusetts adopted and improved on the plan in 1930, and New Jersey in 1931. At each legislative biennium thereafter, additional states adopted or changed to the plan: Arizona, Colorado, Indiana, and Maine¹⁴ in 1933;¹⁵ Alabama, Hawaii, Maryland, Montana, New Hampshire, Oregon,¹⁶ Utah,¹⁷ Wisconsin,¹¹ and Wyoming in 1935; Idaho and Minnesota in 1936.

¹¹ As indicated above, Wisconsin, in 1925 had already applied the principle of state aid in county old age pensions, but the legislation was optional and not fully utilized until after it was made mandatory and put under effective state supervision in 1935.

¹² Minnesota, 1929 (changed to state-and-county financing in 1936); West Virginia, 1931; Florida, 1935 (to be changed to state-and-county financing by constitutional amendment in Nov. 1936).

¹³ In 1929, Wyoming and Utah; in 1931, New Hampshire and Idaho; in 1933, Nebraska, Washington, Oregon (but see footnote 16), and Hawaii. Wyoming, Nebraska, and Washington changed to straight state financing in 1935; and Oregon, New Hampshire, Utah, and Hawaii changed to joint state-(or territory)-and-local financing that year. Idaho did likewise in 1936, by executive action of the governor.

¹⁴ The Maine act was to be put into effect as soon as funds were made available—this was not done till at the end of December, 1935, as a preliminary to qualifying for federal pension aid.

¹⁵ Also Arkansas, but its act was declared unconstitutional.

¹⁶ Oregon, in 1935, passed a series of pension law changes, one of them looking to straight state financing of the pensions, depending on the availability of federal aid (but not meeting the federal requirements), and another making the act conform with the federal requirements but dependent upon a sales tax that was subject to referendum. On Jan. 21, 1936, the sales tax was decisively turned down, leaving the pension situation in utter confusion.

¹⁷ Utah legislation in 1935 provided that any sum over \$150,000 collected biennially from the state's inheritance taxes "may, in the discretion of the governor" be distributed among the counties for old age pensions.

To date,⁹ nineteen states and territories provide for joint state-and-county financed old age assistance: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Straight state financing. The adoption by Delaware, in 1931, of the plan of direct state old age "pensions," originally attempted in this country by Alaska in 1915 for "pioneers," ushered in the fourth major development in American old age assistance legislation: the current trend toward the complete exemption of local units of government from participation in the financing of old age assistance. Michigan, North Dakota, and Ohio adopted or changed to straight state financing of their pensions in 1933; Pennsylvania and Iowa, in 1934; Arkansas, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont, and Washington in 1935¹⁰; Kentucky in 1936.

Twenty of the total of forty-two pension statutes in effect in the states and territories today⁹ are based on the principle of straight state financing¹⁸ of the old age assistance. These are in Alaska, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont, Washington.

Technical improvements in the pension laws. Largely as an accompaniment of these trends toward state participation in the financing and administration of the "pensions," there has gradually come about a considerable, though

¹⁸ Supplemented, since February, 1936, in most cases by federal grants-in-aid under the national Social Security Act.

¹⁹ Oklahoma also; but the law was declared invalid on account of irregularities in the referendum by which it was enacted.

still largely inadequate and far from universal, improvement in the technical drafting of the state laws.

There has been, for instance, a definite trend:

(a) away from lengthy acts containing detailed provisions and labored legalistic language, to short statutes containing little more than a general statement of the public policy with reference to the problem of the needy aged, a commonsense description of the conditions and extent of the assistance available, and a concise outline of the organization, financing and administration of the system, with most operative details left to administrative regulations;

(b) away from rigid specifications as to the amount and the conditions of the pension grants, to flexible provisions that not only make possible, but help to promote individual treatment along the best lines of modern social case work;

(c) away from the high sounding language of "pensions" and the distasteful phraseology of "relief," to the less offensive term "old age assistance";

(d) away from wide variations in the nature and content of the old age assistance laws to a fair amount of uniformity due to copying the language and provisions of the better and more publicized state acts and—more recently—of the national Social Security Act.

Liberalization. At the same time there has come about a moderate liberalization of the benefits of, and eligibility requirements for, public old age assistance. Age requirements have generally been reduced from seventy to sixty-five or less.²⁰ Residence requirements, likewise, have generally been reduced from 15 years or more in state and county to five years in the state²¹ and one year or less in the locality.²² The formerly prevalent 15-year citizenship requirement has generally been changed to the mere require-

ment of citizenship or entirely done away with.²³ In addition, there has been a noticeable trend away from moral restrictions, requirements about the past lives of applicants, and similar "tests" that have little or nothing to do with the question of immediate need.

"Means" disqualifications have been somewhat liberalized. In a few cases,²⁴ a small amount of income is permitted the pensioner without deducting it from the minimum or maximum grant specified in the law. And most of the statutes permit a small amount of property without disqualifying the applicant.²⁵ The income and property restrictions in most of the states, however, still limit the "pensions" to the pauper or near-pauper class. And the

²⁰ Six states at present set the age limit at 70 (Arizona, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, Oregon, Pennsylvania); one (North Dakota) sets it at 68; two (Arkansas and Michigan) set it at 70 till 1940; one, (Indiana) till 1938 and thereafter at 65 (following the requirements of the federal Social Security Act); Alaska sets it at 65 for men and 60 for women; Florida sets it at 65, with the proviso that "infirm" persons are eligible to pensions regardless of their age. The rest set it at 65.

²¹ North Dakota, Alaska and Arizona, respectively, still require 20, 25, and 35 years of state residence. Maine and Pennsylvania, require 15 years; Nevada and West Virginia require 10 years of state residence; the other pension states either now call for five years or provide that that shall be the requirement as soon as federal subsidies—which are conditioned on a maximum 5-year residence requirement—are available.

²² Ten years in West Virginia. In the other states they are either not required, or merely specified as legal residence or domicile, or limited to one year, with further provision in some of the states that if the one-year local residence requirement is the only disqualification for aid, the state will pay the pension in full.

²³ Three states still require 15 years of United States citizenship as a condition of aid (Nevada, Pennsylvania, West Virginia). Arkansas, Delaware, and Minnesota do not make citizenship a condition of aid. (Delaware requires 15 years of residence in the United States; Minnesota requires either citizenship or 25 years of American residence; Mississippi and Arkansas require neither citizenship nor long American residence.) The remaining states merely require American citizenship, without specifying any time limit on it, or specify that their set time limit shall not be required when federal subsidies are available.

²⁴ California, Florida, Minnesota, Nebraska. Wherever a definite amount is specified as the maximum that may be granted, the actual amount to be granted is usually defined as the difference between such a maximum and the income of the pensioner. A few states specify that irrespective of their actual income—provided it is less than the maximum allowable—the aged shall get either the full amount allowable (Nebraska), or a specified flat minimum (California: \$20.00 per month; Florida: \$10.00 per month). In Minnesota, an irregular income of not more than \$100 per year will not be deducted from the amount otherwise allowable.

²⁵ Property is usually limited to a value not exceeding \$3000, frequently to much less, occasionally to "not any."

pension allowances are, for the most part, still limited to a maximum of \$30.00 per month, with some states setting the "maximum" as low as \$12.50 and \$15.00 per month.²⁶

Federal aid. The adoption of the Social Security Bill, with its provision of federal subsidies for state pension systems that meet federal standards, is giving considerable stimulus to this movement for the liberalization and state-wide enforcement of the state old age assistance laws, and bids fair to mark a new stage in the evolution of the American pension system. The mere anticipation of the federal act (during the first seven months of 1935) resulted in eight states adopting new²⁷ legislation, fifteen states and two territories adding to or reshaping their old²⁸ legislation, and four states providing for popular referenda to enact constitutional amendments²⁹ in an effort to meet the anticipated requirements of the act. Since then three new states and the District of Columbia have joined the pension lists³⁰ and seven others³¹ have amended their old acts to conform with the federal requirements, making a total of 36 states and territories to adopt new or change old pension legislation since January, 1935.³²

²⁶ In only ten states is a pension grant of more than \$30.00 per month per person possible: Florida and California set the maximum at \$35.00. Alaska sets it at \$35.00 per month for men and \$45.00 for women. Five states base the pensions entirely on "need" and specify neither maximum nor minimum amounts for the grants: District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Montana, New York. (In Montana the state administrative officials expect to pay \$40.00 per month to all pensioners when federal subsidies become available.) The Rhode Island act specifies that "in exceptional cases" its \$30.00 maximum may be exceeded. Alabama provides that in case of confederate veterans the \$30.00 maximum may be increased to \$50.00 per month.

At the other end of the scale, North Dakota sets the maximum at \$150 a year; Kentucky at \$15.00 per month. Texas and Illinois likewise set the maximum at \$15.00 per month, but specify that this may be increased to \$30.0 when federal aid is available. Five states (Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Ohio, and Utah) set it at \$25.00 per month. Three states (Missouri, Pennsylvania, Vermont) set it at \$30.00 per month for single people and \$45.00 for a married couple. Nebraska sets the pensions at the flat rate of \$30.00 per month. The remaining pension states and territories set the maximum at \$30.00 per month per person, single or married.

²⁷ Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Missouri, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont.

Not all of these as yet meet all the requirements for federal aid.³³ Nevertheless, it is already obvious that the movement for spreading wider, for liberalizing and for making more effective the American state or state-and-county provisions for the needy will continue with increasing momentum during the next few years. Purely county administered and county financed old age relief, largely unenforced, whether theoretically "mandatory" or nominally and actually "optional," is definitely out of the American pension picture and will soon be known only to the historians.³³

²⁸ Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming. (Minnesota also; but its act was declared invalid by the state attorney general.)

²⁹ Texas (adopted August, 1935), Oklahoma (adopted September, 1935), Kentucky (adopted November, 1935), and Florida (to be voted on November, 1936).

³⁰ Alabama, Texas and Mississippi. (Oklahoma also; but its act was declared invalid by the courts.)

³¹ Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, Wisconsin.

³² Only nine states are at present without any pension legislation:—Georgia, (which will need a state constitutional amendment before it can meet the Social Security Act's requirement of state financial participation), Kansas, whose "plan" for local pensions without state legislation or supervision was turned down by the Social Security Board. Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma (whose recent act has been declared invalid). South Carolina, South Dakota, (which has a general enabling act), Tennessee.

³³ For details as to the states that meet the federal standards, and for an analysis of the items in which the states that do not yet meet the federal standards need to correct their legislation, see the author's articles: "State Pension Laws and Federal Standards," in *Social Security* (monthly publication of the American Association for Social Security) November, 1935; and "Present Status of the American Pension Movement," in *Journal of Social Forces*, August, 1936.

MORAL ATTITUDES OF WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS

JOSEPH K. JOHNSON

State College of Washington

Statement of problem. Scientific opinion has tended to agree with popular opinion as to the existence of marked cultural differences between Negroes and whites in the United States. This is seen in the statement of Commons that the Negro has only been "domesticated,"¹ and in allusions to "slave culture" often encountered in the literature of the subject. Moreover, such differences seem to be due, not so much to inherent racial traits² as to the rigorous enforcement of a separate status by the white group, which has imposed, and continues to impose, rigid barriers to the full assimilation of the Negro into American culture.³ The religious aspect of our culture has been shared most freely with the Negro, but even here there is evidence of differentiation and cultural lag, old religious forms surviving longest with the Negro.

Over against the repressive force exerted by the white group has been pitted the constant struggle of the Negro to conform to white patterns, with complete assimilation into the dominant culture as the ideal of success. The present study has to do with the results of this conflict as reflected in one group of personality traits: moral attitudes.

¹ John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), p. 41.

² For a general discussion of racial traits in the light of recent scientific investigation, see Thomas R. Garth, *Race Psychology*, 1931. For a brief summary of findings with respect to intelligence, see L. L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1926, pp. 224-45.

³ See, e.g., discussion of economic discrimination, by Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker*, 1931.

Methodology. The present investigation grew out of a study made in 1932 by the writer, in collaboration with Mr. Kingsley Davis, dealing with moral judgments of Austin (Texas) high school students, in an attempt to discover change over a period of time.⁴ At the time that study was made, it was suggested to the Superintendent of Austin Public Schools, who was interviewed for the purpose of obtaining his approval of the study, that an incidental study might be made of white and Negro attitudes, using the same instrument as was used for the investigation of the attitudes of white students. He became very much interested in the project, and, upon his own initiative, had the instrument (a copy of which had been left with him) mimeographed and presented to Negro students of the two upper high school grades. These instruments were turned over to Mr. Davis and the writer, but due to limitations of time were not dealt with at that time.

The instrument used was a list of fifteen bad practices of the sort commonly found among students, which was developed by Professor A. P. Brogan, at the University of Texas⁵ on the basis of students' responses to the request to list, in order of worseness, objectionable practices commonly found among undergraduates. The original list, used by Professor Brogan in studies of university undergraduates, contained sixteen practices—cheating, dancing, drinking, extravagance, gambling, gossip, idleness, lying, Sabbath breaking, selfishness, sex irregularity, smoking, snobbishness, stealing, swearing, and vulgar talk. In order to secure the consent of the public school authorities for the use of high school students as subjects, it was necessary to eliminate the item "sex irregularity," reducing the list to fifteen items.

⁴ J. K. Johnson and Kingsley Davis, "An Attempt to Discover Change in Moral Attitudes of High School Students," *International Journal of Ethics*, 44:244-51.

⁵ See article by A. P. Brogan and S. G. Slavens, "Moral Judgments of High-School Students," *International Journal of Ethics*, 38:57-69.

The list of practices was presented to the subjects with the following instructions:

The names in the list below give the fifteen worst practices usually mentioned by students. Please go over the list, which is in alphabetical order, and rank the practices in the order of badness. Decide which practice you think is worst or most objectionable for a person to do. Place 1 in the column opposite this practice. Place 2 opposite the next worst practice, and so on through all the practices, with 15 opposite the least bad or best practice. Be sure to rank all fifteen practices even if you think that some of them are not objectionable.

A total of 99 lists was ranked by Negroes, 65 being ranked by girls and 34 by boys. For the whites, the number was 240, of which 126 were boys, 114 girls.

The reliability of the instrument, with special reference to the question of the possible influence of the order of presentation on response was tested in connection with the earlier study of white high school students. In that study the practices were presented to part of the group in alphabetical order and to part in reverse alphabetical order, the division being accomplished by interspersing alphabetical and reverse-alphabetical lists to secure a random distribution. Alphabetical lists were ranked by 122 students and reverse-alphabetical by 118 students. The two groups were found to be in almost perfect correlation, the coefficient of rank correlation being .996, which would indicate a very high degree of reliability for the instrument, as far as that group was concerned.⁶

In treating the results statistically, the arithmetic means of the ranking assigned to each practice by the boys, by the girls, and by the whole group, were computed. These means were then arranged in order of magnitude to give a composite of the ranking by the group. Coefficients of correlation between the rankings by the Negro students and the

⁶ Johnson and Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

white students were computed, and as a means of studying the relative unanimity or dispersion of judgments, the rankings assigned by the various subjects to each practice were arrayed, and the extreme judgments, range, quartiles, and interquartile range were computed.

Results. The composite rankings by the Negro students, and by the white students investigated in connection with the previous study, show that there are greater differences between Negro boys and Negro girls than between white boys and white girls, the whites differing with respect to only five of the fifteen practices, while the Negroes differed with respect to eleven.* Considering magnitude of difference, we find that the greatest difference between white boys and girls was two ranks on the item vulgar talk, while for the Negroes, there were two items, drinking and gossip, on which boys and girls differed as much as three ranks. Expressed in terms of rank correlation, the coefficient for the white boys and girls is .986 (S.E. .006), while that for the Negro boys and girls is .947 (S.E. .026). In other words, a slightly greater sex difference in moral judgments was found for the Negro group studied than for the whites.

Coefficients of rank correlation between Negroes and whites of each sex were also computed and no significant sex difference was found. In other words, the judgments of Negro boys were found to resemble those of white boys about as closely as the judgments of Negro girls resembled those of white girls.

Considering the two groups as a whole, without regard to sex, we find the coefficient of correlation between whites and Negroes to be .859 (S.E. .066). For purposes of comparison we may consider in this connection the results obtained when rankings made by white high school students in 1932 were correlated with rankings by a similar

* Editorial Note: The author of this article has prepared a number of tables giving the facts in detail, but space does not permit the publication of these tables.

group (in the same school) in 1926. Here the coefficient of correlation was .99 (S.E. .008),⁷ which is significantly higher.

Items showing the greatest disparity of judgments between whites and Negroes were: cheating, which was ranked second worst by the whites and eighth by the Negroes; Sabbath breaking, which was ranked eighth by the whites and fourth by the Negroes; and drinking, which was ranked fourth by the whites and seventh by the Negroes. Other items of difference include lying, which was ranked third by whites, but first (worst) by Negroes, thus displacing stealing, which has been uniformly ranked first by all white groups, to second place in the Negro judgments; gambling, which was ranked fifth by whites and third by Negroes, and gossip, which was ranked eleventh by whites and ninth by Negroes.

Data on the distribution of judgments with respect to each individual practice show that when extreme ranges are considered, little difference is found between Negroes and whites. The average range for the whites was 13.4, for the Negroes, 12.8. In other words, for any given practice, individuals were to be found in each group who would place it near the upper limit of worseness, and others who would place it near the lower limit. As a measure of dispersion, extreme range takes into account only the distance between the most extreme judgments; it does not take into account the number of extreme judgments. The interquartile range, on the other hand, does take numbers into account. Turning then to the computations of interquartile ranges, we find that they are much greater for the Negroes than for the whites, the average for the whites being 1.7, for the Negroes, 4.07. In other words, the judgments of the Negroes show considerably less unanimity than do

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

those of the whites. For the white group, the highest interquartile ranges were found for the practices, Sabbath breaking, drinking, and smoking; for the Negroes, the three highest ranges were, Sabbath breaking, drinking, and cheating. With respect to the latter group of practices, the proportion of extreme responses is interesting. For Sabbath breaking, the extremes were 1 and 15 and we find that 29.3 per cent of the Negroes judged it to be the worst of the practices listed, while only 1.01 per cent judged it to be least objectionable. Of the whites, only 8.34 per cent ranked Sabbath breaking worst, and 2.5 per cent considered it least objectionable of the fifteen practices. A similar condition prevailed with respect to drinking, except that here the number of extreme judgments at both extremes was greater for the Negroes. On the other hand, cheating was judged worst more than ten times as often by the whites as by the Negroes, while the proportion of Negroes ranking it at the other extreme was greater than for the whites.

Summary and conclusions. Results indicate, (1) a slightly greater difference between the attitudes of Negro boys and girls than between white boys and girls; (2) a fairly high coefficient of rank correlation (.859, S.E. .066) between the judgments of Negro and white groups as a whole, though this coefficient is significantly lower than the one (.99, S.E. .008) obtained when two similar white groups were compared; and (3) much less unanimity of judgment, as measured by interquartile ranges, on the part of the Negroes than on the part of the whites.

Do these findings support the popular opinion that there are marked moral differences between Negro and white? To begin with, the limitations of this type of study should be pointed out. The study deals with attitudes as expressed in verbal or symbolic behavior rather than attitudes as ex-

pressed in overt behavior. It is not contended that the subjects of this study may be expected to govern their behavior strictly according to the value judgments they have made here; nevertheless, it will hardly be denied that there is a relationship, variable, to be sure, between symbolic behavior with respect to generalized situations, and overt behavior with reference to specific situations. The study of overt behavior and the study of symbolic behavior represent separate and distinct approaches to the study of personality; both are necessary for a complete picture, but the latter approach is certainly no less important and no less valid than the former. A study of a person's symbolic behavior may not enable us to predict his future behavior completely, but it can certainly give us much insight into his personality, for the symbolic behavior is *real* behavior just as overt motor activity is real behavior. We are justified in concluding, therefore, that any significant differences in the symbolic behavior of Negroes and whites which may be revealed by an instrument of the sort used in this study indicate real differences in personality, even though we may not hold that the persons involved will, in specific situations, behave in a manner which might be directly inferred from their judgments with respect to the list of practices presented to them.

The results would seem to indicate that the moral attitudes of the Negro boys and girls studied were more unlike than those of the white boys and girls studied. This suggests, not so much a culturally differentiated group as a culturally retarded group, since it is well known that the "double standard" of conduct formerly received much more general sanction from the white group than it does at the present time.

The fact that the correlation of Negro and white judgments is significantly lower than that of two similar white

groups indicates that real differences exist, though it gives little insight into the nature of such differences.

The marked difference with respect to the item, cheating, may be taken as evidence of the survival of "slave culture," or may be explained on the basis of the assumption that the term *cheating* was taken to mean cheating in school, rather than cheating in the more general sense, and that Negroes, being culturally retarded by force of circumstance, have had less opportunity to develop attitudes of academic honor than have the members of more advantaged groups. A more tolerant attitude on the part of the Negroes toward drinking is not surprising when we recall that drunkenness has always been one of the privileges and solaces of the oppressed and miserable. Moreover, drinking seems to be more in harmony with the easy-going life pattern which Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert regard as characteristic of the "slave culture" than it is with the stern ethics of Puritanism.

The fact that lying is ranked first in order of badness by Negroes, and third by whites, seems to oppose the popular belief that the Negro is characteristically careless with the truth, but it is possible that telling an untruth to a white person as a matter of self-protection is not regarded by the Negro as lying. A social case worker who has worked among Negroes stated to the writer that she had found them holding to a high standard of truthfulness in their dealings with each other.

The fact that Sabbath breaking was ranked much worse by Negroes than by the whites—that *more than 29 per cent of them ranked it as the worst practice of the list*—can be taken to show how thoroughly the Negro has been indoctrinated with the more dogmatic precepts of the Christian religion, and also as an indicator of cultural retardation, since the attitude of the white group toward this practice

has certainly undergone great liberalization during the present generation. Swearing, another offense against the Decalogue, was ranked only one point worse by the Negroes than by the whites, and the smallness of this difference may be accounted for in part by the fact that there has been less relaxation in the opposition of the white group to this practice than with respect to Sabbath breaking. However, the fact that, whereas the white group ranked swearing and Sabbath breaking—two closely related offenses against religious law—as seventh and eighth respectively, the Negroes ranked Sabbath breaking fourth and swearing sixth remains unexplained. It is suggested that a further factor in the high ranking of Sabbath breaking is to be found in the economic situation, i.e., in the fact that the Negro, even since his emancipation, has worked under conditions amounting on the whole to forced labor, and that the maintenance of the Sabbath taboo has meant for him one day of freedom and respite out of each seven.

The results of study of the dispersion of judgments, showing that the judgments of the Negroes are much less unanimous than those of the whites are what we might expect, remembering that we are here dealing with a minority group struggling to assimilate the culture of the larger group, with which it is, at the same time, in conflict. It is significant, moreover, that on the three items on which the white group shows high dispersion, i.e., Sabbath breaking, drinking, and smoking, the Negro group shows dispersions more than twice as high (though for cheating, the Negroes showed a dispersion of judgment even greater than for smoking). High dispersion of judgments indicates, among other things, a state of changing attitudes, a shifting of the mores. Now it is very generally believed that popular attitudes toward such practices as Sabbath breaking, drinking, and smoking have undergone drastic changes

recently and this belief is to some extent borne out by the high dispersion shown by both groups with respect to these practices. In explanation of the much higher dispersions of the Negro judgments, it is suggested that a group which is forced to adopt or copy the culture of a dominant group will be more disturbed by changes taking place in the cultural pattern which it copies than will the dominant group within which these changes originate and develop.

Considering the results as a whole, it may be said that they indicate significant differences in the moral attitudes of the two groups studied, though these differences are probably much less than popular opinion would aver as to the moral differences between whites and Negroes in general. When all is said and done, a coefficient of correlation of .859 represents a high degree of correlation, and the writer strongly suspects that white groups could be found in the same city whose moral judgments would correlate less closely with those of the white high school students than did the judgments of the Negro group studied.

CULTURE DISTANCE IN "A HOUSE DIVIDED"

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

The University of Southern California

CULTURE distance finds a classic illustration in *A House Divided*.¹ The main theme runs from the first page to the closing paragraphs. On page one for example, when Yuan comes home garbed in the uniform of a revolutionary order, his father, Wang the Tiger, the war lord, draws his sword and is about to slay his bold and only son when a sense of parental nearness stays his hand. The chasm is frailly bridged but never closed.²

Although filial loyalty in the Chinese family remains strong and although "a son ought not to refuse his father anything," yet when cultural differences between war-lord father and youthful revolutionary son increase, this filial loyalty is undermined. Once when Yuan felt that his father had grown like "a little child again" he felt an artificial nearness and decided to treat his father "with tenderness and no anger." The resolution is short-lived, however, for only a few minutes later his father grows repugnant because of not being washed or shaven and because of carelessness in eating. Announcing his hatred for his father, Yuan storms out of the house, goes first to a distant coastal city, and then to America for an education.

Parental feeling alone bridges the distance more or less artificially between cultural viewpoints. When Yuan is

¹ Pearl S. Buck, *A House Divided* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1935), pp. 353.

² In Mrs. Buck's trilogy, *The Good Earth*, *Sons*, and *A House Divided*, the theme of cultural distance gains increasing momentum. In *The Good Earth*, Wang Lung, the farmer is seen; in *Sons*, Wang the Tiger, son of Wang Lung, plays the leading role, and the distance between the powerful war lords and the hopeless peasants is shown; and in *A House Divided*, Wang Yuan, son of Wang the Tiger, and grandson of Wang Lung, the farmer, plays still another cultural role, that of the youth educated in the ways of modern China.

captured, thrown into prison, and about to be executed for seditious connections, Wang the Tiger leads in supplying the money which saves the son from death. Years later, after his schooling in America was over, filial duty led Yuan to pay a visit to his father and uncles and his mother. But with what reactions? He perceived himself to be "a stranger with these folk who were his own blood," for "he had a life to live they could not conceive, and their life was as small as death to him." Here are the sad but true words expressing the social farness that may come to exist between one generation and the next, between parents and their own children.

The climax of personality distance due to cultural differences is reached when young Yuan of the New China looks at his old mother of the Old China. Yuan "looked down upon the woman in her old-fashioned coat and skirt of black cotton stuff and asked himself, 'Was I indeed shaped in this old woman's body? I feel no kinship in our flesh.' " As he looked at his mother who "sat and stared at nothing in a way she had and moved her eyes and jaws a little and forgot him, and slept gently, or seemed to do so," he perceived that "they were not of the same world, these two, and that he was her son was meaningless to him."

In China the attitudes of the older generation regarding the marriages of the children are so different from the Western ideas of the younger generation, that the distance can be overcome with difficulty. Wang the Tiger selected a wife for Yuan, his son, and ordered him home to be married on the "thirtieth," for the geomancer had said that the thirtieth would be a lucky day. When Yuan protested that he could not come, the father promptly sent back word that Yuan should be wed by proxy and that "a cousin would stand up for him" and that "Yuan would

be as truly wed upon that day, as truly as though he came himself."

Yuan deciding not to go confides to a young lady friend who in turn announces that she would not think of marrying one to whom another was married as his first wife, even though it was the established custom. When Yuan realizes that he is to be married whether he wills it or not, whether he goes to the wedding or not, and to a woman he has never seen, "that he is not free," he turns against his father and decides to join the rising revolution. "So did the Tiger drive his son to be his enemy."

When Yuan was thrown in prison his father relented and did not pursue the marriage plans for his son. Later upon Yuan's return from America, the Tiger is softened and says to him, "Wed whom you like. . . . I am not so old-fashioned now, Yuan. I know how young men do now." So strong, however, is convention that the father wishes to send a "go-between," but Yuan declines: "I can speak for myself. We speak for ourselves these days. . . ." The relented Tiger cannot understand: "Son, what woman is there decent who can be so spoken to?" Only when death approached the Tiger did Yuan, the son, bridge the chasm temporarily, being overcome with sympathy. Thus cultural distance, due to differences chiefly in customs, may separate one generation from the next, and parent from his own child.

Further light is thrown upon cultural distance when it is coupled with racial differences. Yuan goes to America. "There must be something wrong here in this city, that so many people go at such speed somewhere." He senses "a strange alien odor." He encounters evil epithets, and becomes aware that he is a "foreigner." He wanted to rent a room as a student but one woman said: "'My rooms are taken,' although Yuan knew she lied, seeing that her sign of empty rooms was still there."

Yuan grew very fond of a particular American girl and personality nearness was perfectly illustrated. He announced to the girl: "You have made me forget we are not one race. Somehow, for the first time since I entered your country I have felt a mind speaking to my mind without a barrier." Yuan felt deeply, however, that "it is not wise nor well for two of different flesh to wed each other." Two objections overrule a close personal nearness: one, "the outer difficulty of the two races, neither of which likes such union"; the other, "there is also the inner struggle against each other, and this pull away from each other goes as deep as blood does. . . ."

Despite "the likeness of youth to any youth in any age, . . . alike in their rebellions," and their love, still Yuan confesses that he really does not "want to wed one of her race" (American), even though such a thought brought its pang. "It was the distaste of flesh for flesh that was not its own kind. He drew back. . . ." Upon Yuan's return to China he fell in love with and married one of his own kind in race and in the new modern culture,³ illustrating the way that unlike cultures and races lead to farness, and like cultures lay foundations for nearness.⁴

A House Divided is full of pertinent materials for the study of personality distance in terms both of farness and nearness, yet behind every situation is culture exercising a powerful if not a determining influence either to sepa-

³ The tendency of the younger representatives of the new modern culture to go to an extreme in their modernness is revealed in the case of the attractive Chinese girl, Ai-lan, who grew "naughty and willful," who by day "slept exhausted," because of merry-making by night, all night. Even her marriage to a handsome man "had to be—Ai-lan is with child by him."

⁴ The distance between American culture and Chinese culture is well put. For the West: "Those men of the West excel us in inventiveness, and in the energy in their bodies, and in their dauntlessness to go ahead in what they do." For China: "We excel in patience and in understanding and in long endurance." Moreover, new China in the person of a radical young maiden cries: "For myself, I am determined to endure nothing—nothing at all I do not like; I shall try to teach all my countrywomen not to endure anything."

rate or to unite. While the reduction of cultural differences will not guarantee social and personal nearness, yet without cultural nearness there can be only that kind of personal nearness which is continually and unexpectedly being disturbed both from within and without.

News Notes

The Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society is holding its spring meeting at the University of Redlands on May 26. Dr. Glen E. Carlson, vice-president of the Society for the Southern Division, is in charge of the meeting. The major themes of the addresses will deal with social work viewed sociologically.

Social Objectives is the title of the Seventh Annual Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society, which appeared from the press in March. The volumes contain thirteen papers including one on "American Intellectuals and Social Reform" by H. B. Woolston, president of the Society for 1935, and other papers discussing topics, such as: social objectives of Fascism, objectives in cultural evolution, objectives in race relations, the new leisure and social objectives, and objectives of work relief programs. For further information address the secretary, M. H. Neumeyer, The University of Southern California.

President H. P. Fairchild of the American Sociological Society announces that the next annual meeting will be held at Chicago. It is proposed that various applications of sociological knowledge be discussed.

The book written by Dr. Natalie Moszkowska entitled *Zur Kritik modernner Kristentheorien*, which was reviewed in this Journal in the January-February issue, may be secured through the Neuen Weltbuhne, Prague, Czechoslovakia, Post Office 47, Box 55.

Social Work Technique is the title of a new bi-monthly publication edited by Drs. E. F. Young and P. V. Young of The University of Southern California in attractive format. The Journal bids fair to meet many of the daily needs of social workers with its numerous practical suggestions based on sound theory.

Social Research Notes

DAVID H. DINGILIAN

A MANUAL OF SETTLEMENT BOYS' WORK. Edited by J. H. KINGMAN and E. SIDMAN. Published by National Federation of Settlements, 1935, pp. 156.

This pamphlet is published in order that the multitudinous number of boys' clubs which are forming every day may not exist "without a definite purpose and without a definite program." It is very practically arranged with some sixteen chapters of information on boys' work. The data range from "A Philosophy of Boys' Works" to "Hikes," "Hobbies," and "Dramatics." Because there is a "tendency growing to break down the division between Boys' Work and Girls' Work and between Boys' Worker and Girls' Worker," practically all the chapters are so arranged that both "boys alone" or "mixed groups" may profitably use the materials found within the pamphlet. The valuable Bibliography at the end is most useful.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF NEW MEXICO: Preliminary Survey. By P. WALTER, JR., and M. A. SAXTON. Sociological Series, Vol. 2, No. 3. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1936, pp. 22.

This little pamphlet would attack the "well-meaning experts now engaged in the social field" who "regard social welfare as synonymous with economic well-being" and are too ready to acquiesce to "the proposition that if we can contrive to fill stomachs and re-finance the mortgages, all other things will take care of themselves." The main idea brought out in the study is that the sociologist should see "social problems in all their interrelationships and phases" and evaluate his program of social improvement according to these inter-dependent factors.

CREATIVE MANAGEMENT: The Relation of Aims to Administration. By O. TEAD. New York: The Association Press, 1935, pp. 59.

This pamphlet is a discussion of ideas—"ideas about purposes, organization policies, working methods, personal obligations . . ." As "social, economic, political, and moral values" shift and a greater

complexity replaces the old simple frontiers, it becomes imperative that aims and ends be objectified and effort be made that "a true consistency of pattern and unity of working drive is present." A dualism between aims and methods is no longer conducive to the "creative management" of tomorrow.

NEW JERSEY JAIL AND WORKHOUSE SURVEY. Trenton, N.J.: State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Publication 31, 1936, pp. 36.

This pamphlet should be of great interest to the criminology student. It presents in a vivid manner data which spells the word "lag" at every turn. That such modern criminological procedures as can be available through the assistance of "medical, psychological" psychiatric and other rehabilitative" agencies and yet the fact that such co-operation is not taken advantage of is a perfect example of an institutional lag. The pamphlet is full of excellent charts and statistical data of a very significant character.

AN EXAMINATION OF EXAMINATIONS. By SIR P. HARTOG and E. C. RHODES. London: Macmillan Co., Limited, 1935, pp. 81.

This is a "Summary of Investigations on the Comparison of Marks Allotted to Examination Scripts by Independent Examiners and Boards of Examiners, together with a Section on a Viva Voce Examination." Just one example and the resulting conclusion will give the reader a clue as to the character of this report. "... marks allotted independently by twenty-eight different examiners to a piece of Latin prose varied from 45 to 100 per cent." Only one conclusion may be reached to such a vivid example and this the honored professors concede to us, namely, that "the part played by chance in the verdicts given at different examinations on which careers depend must often at the present moment be a great one."

A PLAN FOR REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON: An Ecological Study. By S. C. MENEFE. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington, 1935, pp. 80.

That the various units of our states are not divided on the basis of modern needs is a known fact. This study presents the results of an "investigation of possible ways of revising the boundaries of local units of government."

In contrast to the old rule-of-thumb method of geographic division, this report recommends that the following be the basis for determining the division of local administrative areas: geography, industry and resources, population distribution, transportation, trading areas, and a consideration of other districts in use.

"Courses of Action" recommended are, first, via constitutional amendment; second, legislation following a referendum vote; and third, for the "State to take over certain county and state functions and put them on a basis of the districts" to be formed. This would mean that roads, education, welfare activities, and state police would be handled on the basis of the new districts anticipated.

As one looks over the various state maps, county consolidation on a more practical basis seems most welcome, and the method used in this study would be of great use and value.

SOCIAL RESEARCH. Quarterly Journal of The Institute of Social Research and The Department of Sociology. Canton, China: National Sun Yat-Sen University, Vol. I, No. I, October, 1935.

This Inaugural Number of a most impressive character, all in Chinese, should prove to be of lasting value to Chinese students of sociology. The following are topics treated in the contents of the Journal: Two Approaches to the Study of Social Psychology; Society and Mankind; An Analysis of the Divorce Cases in Peiping, 1917-1932; Divorce from Hang to Tang Dynasties; The Crisis of the Urban Society in China; The Shu-Yuan System in the Sung Dynasty; Two Vital Problems Confronting Labour in China; Necessities of Life in the Primitive Society; A Survey of the Beet-People in Foochow; Appendixes, containing many items of worth-while interest.

Foreign Sociological Notes

Edited by

EARLE EUBANK, *University of Cincinnati*

The annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, held in New York, December, 1935, especially featured international sociological relations. At the annual dinner, sociologists from abroad who spoke were Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, formerly at the University of Frankfurt; Dr. Richard Thurnwald, of the University of Berlin; and Dr. Antonin Obrdlik of Czechoslovakia. The recognition which has been extended to the United States in International Sociological circles was strikingly manifested by two other addresses on this occasion: those of Dr. C. A. Ellwood of Duke University, retiring President of the International Sociological Society, and of Dr. P. A. Sorokin of Harvard, his successor to that office.

Two distinguished men from other lands were elected to honorary membership in the Society: Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, mentioned above, and Dr. G. L. Duprat, of the University of Geneva, the widely known Secretary General of the International Sociological Society. It is the policy of the Society to make such election an outstanding honor through extreme care in selection of only a limited number of persons.

The following are the honorary members of the Society besides the two members just elected: Drs. Celestin Bouglé, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris; Marcel Mauss, College de France; Thomas G. Masaryk, former President of Czechoslovakia; S. R. Steinmetz, University of Amsterdam; Ferdinand Toennies, University of Kiel; Leopold von Wiese, University of Cologne; Eduard Westermarck, universities of London and Helsingfors.

Upon authorization of the American Sociological Society, its incoming President, Dr. H. P. Fairchild of New York University, has appointed a Committee (Messrs. Park, Sorokin, and Eubank) to study the question of affiliation with the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes, to report at the 1936 Annual Meeting.

TRAVEL NOTES

FRANK H. HANKINS (Smith College): Visited France, Belgium, and Germany during August and September, 1935; read a paper at

the Centenary of Quetelet's *La Physique Sociale* in connection with sessions of the International Sociological Congress in Brussels; was entertained by Professor E. Maihaim, Director of the Solvay Institute, Brussels; visited the Institute for Race Questions at Weimar as a part of a week's excursion in Germany under the auspices of the Population Union; served as a delegate of the American Population Association and of the United States Government at the Congress of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems, held at Berlin.

MABEL A. ELLIOTT (University of Kansas): Visited Germany, Finland, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and France between June 15 and September 10, 1935; travelled over 7,000 miles in Russia; attended meetings of the International Committee of Girl Scouts at Helsingfors; was the guest of the Hungarian government to various national institutions; visited leading penal institutions in France, under special arrangement with the Ministry of Justice; was the guest of faculty members of the universities of Prague, Budapest, and Szeged (Hungary), and of various national and international social organizations. Special interest: study of penal institutions, which was facilitated by introductions from the United States Department of Justice.

DRS. LUTHER and JESSIE BERNARD (Washington University): Visited France and Belgium, during August and September, 1935, Mrs. Bernard remaining on research work in France several months longer; attended the International Sociological Congress at Brussels, where Dr. L. L. Bernard presented a paper on "The Conflict between Primary Group Attitudes and Derivative Group Ideals in Modern Society." Special Interest in Europe: a study of the reception of Comte and of Positivism in the United States with especial reference to the connection between the Positivist Societies in France, and similar organizations in the United States.

HOWARD BECKER (Smith College): Visited France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Austria, and Greece, between June, 1934 and September, 1935. Chief interest: study of cultural and social compulsives in social thought ("Sociology of Knowledge") particularly in Greece of the classical period. Paper prepared for the International Sociological Congress entitled "Le rôle du sacré et du profane dans les formes élémentaires de la Grèce antique."

DWIGHT SANDERSON (Cornell University): Visited Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Belgium, and Holland, between June and September, 1935; presented a paper at the International Sociological Congress; attended the International Country Life Commission at Luxembourg. Special interest: visitation of agricultural officials and village and country life in Roumania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia.

R. M. MACIVER (Columbia University): Visited Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and England, between February and September, 1935. Purpose: sociological conferences in Poland, but chiefly a trip for observation of current European conditions.

P. A. SOROKIN (Harvard University): Visited France, Belgium, and Germany during August, 1935. "Main sociological contacts were with hotel men, chauffeurs, taxi-drivers, waiters, servants, and wine clerks." Incidentally, he presented a paper at the International Sociological Congress on "Movements of War and of Internal Disturbances from 600 B.C. to the Present," and was elected International President for 1936-1937.

ROBERT C. ANGELL (University of Michigan): Visited Scotland, England, France and Belgium during July, August, and September, 1935; presented a paper at the International Sociological Congress entitled "The Activity-complex as a basic unit for social theory and social research."

Book Notes

HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, edited by
JOHN R. COMMONS, New York: The Macmillan Company,
1935.

Vol. III: WORKING CONDITIONS, by DON D. LESCOHIER and
LABOR LEGISLATION by ELIZABETH BRANDEIS, pp. xxx+
778.

Vol. IV: LABOR MOVEMENTS, by SELIG PERLMAN and PHILIP
TAFT, pp. viii+683.

These important volumes carry forward the work of Dr. John R. Commons and his associates in writing the historical account of labor in the United States. The first two volumes, published in 1918, carried the analysis to the year 1896, while the present volumes extend it to the beginnings of the New Deal in 1932. Professor Commons introduces the present volumes with a noteworthy thirty-page preface, showing how industry in the past forty years has "markedly changed. . . from neighborhood relations of employers and laborers to absentee relations of millions of investors and millions of laborers, with the banker as their middleman."

Volume III discusses in elaborate detail working conditions, employers' policies, unemployment, unemployment relief and insurance, wages, hours of work, and labor legislation. Some significant factual material has merged as a result of the study of working conditions, such as, for instance, the following: "There was no time between 1890 and 1930 when living standards of wage earners were demoralized like they were between 1931 and 1934, except from 1893 to 1896." Professor Lescohier, too, after surveying company union plans writes significantly of their principal defect when he declares:

The company union, . . . can influence wages and labor costs in but a single company and cannot facilitate the securing of equal wages throughout an industry by imposing the same wages upon all the employers in the industry.

Miss Brandeis, writing the major portion of the section on *Labor Legislation*, has made an important contribution to this subject, showing

how the laws came to be passed, what forces promoted and opposed them, how they have been administered, the methods by which and the extent to which they have proved to be effective measures of social control, and . . . how they have been accepted by the courts, the extent to which they have been retarded or nullified by adverse decisions as to their constitutionality.

Her discussion confines itself to hour legislation for women and men, minimum wage laws, liability and compensation laws, and old age pension and unemployment laws. The concluding chapter contains significant comments upon the historic decisions of the United States Supreme Court with reference to labor.

Volume IV carries the account of the development of organized labor in America from the end of the depression of the nineties to 1932. The sections are significantly entitled: Mass Advance and Repulse, 1896-1910; Proto-Fascism and Revolutionism; Limited Advances and the Effects of the War, 1910-1920; and, Post-War Militancy, the Apotheosis of Business and the Aftermath. The authors in a powerful summation of their presentation hold that the greatest problem of the labor movement has been that of the right to exist at all. There has been a marked lack of a class consciousness in the American labor movement. Its heterogeneity in ethnical, religious, linguistic, and cultural make-up has been an important factor in this lack. The "chief strategic blunders" of unionism have been made in the conflicts with the steel industry; the battle of the Marne for labor was lost in 1901. The final conclusion is made that "the general plan of labor's campaign through the forty years shows an appreciation of realities but that the several critical defects came from lack of mutual co-ordination of labor's fighting armies."

M. J. V.

PROBLEMS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By CHARLES L. ANSPACH and WRAY H. CONDON. New York: American Book Company, 1935, pp. xviii+314.

The authors have used a rather unique method in the preparation of this book which is divided into a series of problems rather than the usual chapter arrangement. A problem is stated, after which a brief case study is given to stimulate associational patterns upon the problem. After this there is presented a series of questions for class discussion, or to enable the student to make further investigation upon his own initiative. Also, with each problem there is a group of selected source materials taken from the fields of education and sociology.

The book will prove more useful as a syllabus than as a textbook, for its materials are somewhat too generalized and would have a tendency to cause slipshod thinking on the part of the college student unless a way were provided to motivate the student to search diligently through the recommended source materials and to seek new materials.

R. H. H.

SOCIOLOGIA PRIMITIVA CHILEINDIANA. (Sociology of the Indians of Old Chile.) By AUGUSTIN VENTURINO. Two volumes. Barcelona: Editorial Cervantes, 1927-28, pp. 367 and 456.

SOCIOLOGIA CHILENA con Comparaciones Argentinas and Mexicanas. (Sociology of Chile with References to the Argentina and Mexico.) By AUGUSTIN VENTURINO. Barcelona: Editorial Cervantes, 1929, pp. 324.

SOCIOLOGIA GENERAL AMERICANA. (General American Sociology.) By AUGUSTIN VENTURINO. Barcelona: Editorial Cervantes, 1931, pp. 360.

SOCIOLOGIA GENERAL: La Interdependencia. (General Sociology: Interdependence.) By AUGUSTIN VENTURINO. La Coruña: Editorial Moret, 1935, pp. 301.

In these five volumes by Augustin Venturino, a Chilean sociologist, the author has made valuable contributions to regional sociology and human ecology. In the interpretation of the early Chilean-Indian culture he has made many interesting comparisons with the cultures developed by the Incas, Mayans, and Aztecs. His account traces their culture history down through colonial times to the present, summarizing and interpreting the entire cultural development. Geographic, anthropological, and ethnologic data have been freely drawn upon and woven into a carefully developed culture history based upon the fundamental concept of the interdependence of all cultural elements. There is more emphasis upon geographic factors—at least in the early volumes of the series—than North American sociologists now employ in the analysis of social data.

It is inevitable that in so vast a perspective the author occasionally jumps too hastily to his generalizations. On the other hand, the author has had many years residence and travel in the region he is describing and, as he says, "is as familiar with it as he is with the palm of his hand." He is especially concerned with showing concretely the results of the interaction between the primitive Indian culture and that of the Spanish conquerors—an interaction which is responsible for much of the present nature of the social process in Chile and in Latin America generally.

The fifth volume is of more theoretical interest: *General Sociology-Interdependence*, in which the author dwells at length upon the concept of interdependence. He has illustrated at great length the interdependence of cultural groups and cultural areas. This concept is apparently no mere academic idea for Venturino and his readers. In the introduction to the volume, Gaston Richard has seized upon

it to point a moral to the disunited Latin countries of Europe and America who, in his estimation, might achieve a great future and could even "become the guarantors of world peace" if they would but grasp and act upon the law of interdependence which Venturino has so ably demonstrated. Then they would no longer be helpless witnesses to the struggle for power in which other races are engaged, but through "conscious accord" would at least attain the equality of sea power which is rightly theirs. The sociology of the North Americans has not been put, as yet, to service so directly in the front ranks of international politics.

E. F. Y.

THE INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL: Studies in the Psycho-genetics of Crime, Vol. I, Cases 1-5. By BEN KARPMAN. Washington, D. C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1935, pp. x+317.

Dr. Karpman continues his discussion in this volume of the five cases which were presented at length in his *Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime* (Washington, 1933). The material here given is interpretational and diagnostic. It is a search for deeper underlying motivations. Dr. Karpman recognizes the role which physical and social factors may play in the criminal behavior, factors which "have been considerably investigated and have not yet yielded any specific results." ". . . the psychoanalytic approach has as yet failed to contribute significantly to the solution of the problem" since it confused criminality and neuroticism. His emphasis falls on psychogenetic factors, upon underlying mechanisms and processes. To him criminality is "normal," but "civilization" ordinarily brings it within tolerable limits though it may long remain dormant; "to understand its history is to gain insight into the history of human culture." No student of crime and criminals can afford to neglect these volumes however much his own point of view may differ from the author's, since they contain sufficiently detailed materials to permit independent analysis.

E. F. Y.

WHY DEMOCRACY? By JAY WILLIAM HUDSON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. xvi+246.

The author regards democracy not merely as a political conception, but as a practical philosophy of individual and social ethics. He considers many definitions of democracy in order to cancel out any ambiguity, and discusses its implications in theories of rights and duties in society. The pros and cons of democracy are impartially presented, but it seems that democratic values persist in a larger democracy for which all government exists.

J. E. N.

THE BRITISH IMMIGRANT. His Economic and Social Adjustment in Canada. By LLOYD G. REYNOLDS. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935, pp. xx+364.

C. A. Dawson in his "Introduction" states that "the ties which link Canada to Great Britain will be facilitated in a much smaller degree in the future by the presence in this country of recent arrivals from the British Isles." Since immigration to Canada is coming to an end, at least as a large movement of people, it is appropriate that a research study be made covering the extent and effects of this large mass migration. Canada has received nearly five million immigrants since 1900. The movement in the main has been one of people leaving urban England for urban Canada. Interestingly enough Canada is defined as "a cultural half-way house between Great Britain and the United States." Adjustment experiences of the immigrants are discussed with special attention being given to maladjustments, which often arise from the necessity of changing one's occupation. The research character of this study is easily seen from an examination of the twenty excellent charts and extensive statistical data.

E. S. B.

THE DELINQUENT BOY AND THE CORRECTIONAL SCHOOL. By NORMAN FENTON, *et al.* Claremont, California: Claremont Colleges Guidance Center, 1935, pp. 182.

This volume merits discriminating reading by every student and practical worker interested in the institutional treatment of delinquent boys. It is a case study of the Whittier State School at Whittier, California, to which California juvenile courts may commit boys under fifteen years of age. The author's long experience in psychological research makes the study of special interest to psychologists. A large number of tables are included giving psychological findings employing the usual statistical devices. While interesting devices are described for reinducting the boy into his home and community, the effectiveness of the institution as an adjuster of boys to normal living is still undetermined. A study analogous to those of the Gluecks is needed to test the effectiveness of institutional programs. The volume is not intended as a defense of the institution and contains many suggestions for improvement. On the other hand, it can hardly be rated as completely objective with reference to the institutional program for dealing with juvenile delinquency as such.

E. F. Y.

HEREDITY AND THE ASCENT OF MAN. By C. C. HURST.
New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1935, pp.
ix+138.

Dr. C. C. Hurst, well-known English geneticist, has in this brief discussion on heredity presented a most lucid explanation of the importance to man of the most recent developments in eugenical research. Referring to the latest experiments which have yielded more definite knowledge about the genes, he declares that man may now "take a hand in creative evolution by creating new species of living organisms and by replacing natural selection by human selection." The nature of the genes and the roles which they play in the development of the personality organization furnish the author with what might be termed an exciting and interesting narrative. Along with other enthusiastic eugenicists, Dr. Hurst believes that the nation which really adopts the new scientific knowledge will be the favored one, the nation that will come to inherit the earth. Democracy, he holds, presents obstacles in the way of improving the race intellectually, since it implies the rule of the mediocre; unless the leaders of thought and action can be stirred into a realization of the national advantages of a sound eugenic policy progress may be halted or left to the capriciousness of chance. Here, then, is a book devised for the leaders of social groups who actually desire to attempt a program of betterment for their followers.

M. J. V.

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION. Edited by JAY B. NASH. Vol.
V of *Interpretations of Physical Education*, 5 Volumes. New
York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1935, pp. x+423.

In this book it is pointed out that there is a new educational trend which is going to necessitate a change in emphasis being placed upon certain materials in the educational system. In the face of such changes "America must develop a philosophy of recreation." Physical education is indicated as the source or means of integration of the various activities of the individuals in a changed educational and social order. The author shows that the future demands trained people to work with other humans.

Certain materials presented in this book might well be studied by those interested in group work activities. There are also several interesting tables and fourteen pages of source materials on professional preparation in physical education.

R. H. H.

HOTEL LIFE. By NORMAN S. HAYNER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1936, pp. 195.

The author has brought together an extensive range of materials based on experiences gathered from wide travels and close observation at home. He has analyzed nearly every conceivable type of data concerning hotel life and has presented the results under interesting themes, such as hotels and urban areas, hotel homes, trends in hotel population, types of hotel dwellers, emancipated families, the hotel child, and human nature problems in hotels.

Hotel problems, according to the author, are metropolitan problems exhibited in accentuated form. "The detachment, freedom, loneliness, and release from restraint that mark the hotel population are only to a lesser degree characteristic of modern life as a whole." Physical nearness and social farness are characteristic of hotel dwellers. The hotel population is essentially an aggregation of displaced individual units. In hotel life indifference is a major trait, and in an auto camp "one's neighbor is merely a noise." Many people regard hotels as places in which to take a "moral holiday." The volume gives an illuminating picture of an increasing section of the population, and makes a valuable contribution to the sociology of urban life.

E. S. B.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION. By STUART ALFRED QUEEN, WALTER BLAINE BODENHAFFER, and ERNEST BOULDIN HARPER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1935, pp. xii+653.

The authors have undertaken to survey the entire field of social unadjustment and readjustment viewed as social processes. They have drawn heavily upon sociological concepts and theories but have not neglected the discussion of pertinent materials from biology, psychology, psychiatry, economics, and political science. The very considerable contributions of sociology have been carefully utilized throughout the book.

The argument is well illustrated by brief case histories, sufficiently full in most instances, however, to indicate the range of factors at play in addition to those immediately under discussion.

While the volume has in mind primarily the needs of the student, practical social workers will find it an excellent book to bring their information and thinking in these fields down to date—a much needed undertaking in view of the dynamic character of both social life and the social sciences.

E. F. Y.

ALASKA NATIVES. A Survey of Their Sociological and Educational Status. By H. DEWEY ANDERSON and WALTER CROSBY EELLS. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1935, pp. xvi+472.

The book consists of two distinct portions, the first a sociological, and the second an educational study of the Alaska Eskimo. Part I, the sociological study, deals first with the early social status of the Eskimo. There is, therefore, a statement of the origin of the people, their habitat, their physical description, their village life, a description of their possessions, health, social organization, and government, and their contact with the white men. Then follows a presentation of the conditions of the present-day Eskimo, observing similar classes of data as were mentioned for the early Eskimo. The educational study deals with the organization and administration of the native school system, the educational staff, various programs of measurement, an appreciation of the achievements of the Eskimo in education, a statement of the curriculum, and the health program. There are recommendations, both sociological and educational.

The study was made under the auspices of the School of Education of Stanford University, at the request of the United States Office of Education. It was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. To all of these is due a large measure of credit for sponsoring so important and expensive a study of the Alaska Eskimo; and the authors have proved themselves not only courageous in the field, but scholars in presenting their findings. They have combined the best from previous records, with the fruits of their own skillful observation. The many photographs, charts, and statistical summaries deserve special mention. The book is a gold mine concerning the Eskimo of Alaska, even to the extent of carefully tabulated tests of their mental-age levels. J. E. N.

SOCIAL JUDGMENT. By GRAHAM WALLAS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935, pp. 175.

This is a posthumous collection of essays edited by May Wallas, a daughter of the author. The author shows to what extent men are influenced by thought and emotion while making responsible decisions, and he believes they may develop an art of social judgment. He traces such a changing art from early Egypt, Greece, Palestine, and on through later European philosophy. In economic life, in the scientific laboratory, even in religion, he searches for the use of effective social judgment. J. E. N.

SWEDEN, the Middle Way. By MARQUIS W. CHILDS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, xvi+171.

The subtitle is unusually significant, for Sweden according to the author is modifying capitalism and thus is preventing revolution and the rise of communism. The co-operative movement represents "the middle way." Twenty per cent "of the retail and wholesale trade in Sweden is carried on through the co-operatives." Over "a third of all the households in Sweden are enrolled in co-operative societies." Ten per cent of all manufactures is done in the co-operatives. Production for use has offset some of the evils of production for profit. It has halted "the excesses of capitalism," prevented monopoly and the "narrow concentration of wealth." Production for use has checked "the very tendencies by which capitalism tends to destroy itself."

Twenty years ago Sweden was where the United States is today in regard to housing the poor, according to the author. She realized then "that private business could not provide housing for the lowest income groups on the ordinary basis of private profit." Through the co-operatives, housing has been improved until slums have been almost entirely routed from both city and country. E. S. B.

ROBERTY, Le Positivisme Russe Et La Fondation De La Sociologie. By RENE VERRIER. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1934, pp. 233.

Professor Verrier has undertaken in this volume to sketch the contributions of Eugene de Roberty (1843-1915) to both French and Russian sociology. Roberty in his early youth attended the Imperial Alexander Lyceum in St. Petersburg where he came under the influence of the positivist, Wyrubov. Roberty and John Stuart Mill were the only foreign members present at the first meeting in 1872 of the Societe de Sociologie in Paris. The conference discussions in which Roberty took part aroused his interest in three directions, namely, the peace and function of sociology among all the sciences, the analogy between social science and biology, and the relation between social science and psychology. His book, *La Sociologie*, based upon the biosocial hypothesis, plainly shows the influence of Comte, Spencer, Tarde, and Durkheim. This hypothesis, upon which he sought to build the one inclusive science, was stated by him as follows:

Psychological man is not a cause but an effect, not a factor, but a product, and the real causes or factors are biological conditions and social conditions. . . . Through association which is one particular phenomenon studied in social science, the biological individual is transformed into a social atom.

From this point, Roberty, in his maturation of sociological thought, approached the point of view of current American social psychology. His book, *The Sociology of Action*, seeks to trace the growth of the presocial human beings with their bioindividual minds through psychophysical interaction into the social minds or sociality, and thence through a second degree of psychological interaction into the collective mind stage, with a final emergence into a social-individual stage of consciousness.

Roberty was mainly responsible for the popularization of the positivistic movement in Russia, and considered himself as the critic rather than the disciple of Comte. Although his own theories have had little influence among European sociologists, his evaluations and criticisms of the contributions of others to sociological thought have had far-reaching disciplinary effects.

M. J. V.

THE GEOGRAPHIC PATTERN OF MANKIND. By JOHN E. POMFRET. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935, pp. xviii+428.

As a study of the interrelation between the physical environment and the social environment of groups, this book on human geography serves excellently as a broad introduction to social science. After providing data and principles of general geographical nature, and a discussion of typical climates and environments, the author describes conditions for Africa, Java and Malaysian lands, India, China, Japan, Russia, the Mediterranean, South America, Mexico, the United States, and Western Europe. As he proceeds from one continent or region to the next, he deals with the respective location, climate, topography, vegetation or crops, mineral resources, manufacturing and commercial development, and other data of importance in the man-land ratio. The order of treatment varies somewhat, but the similarity of patterns worked out by man in either environment becomes fairly obvious; the larger forms are there, even if the content varies. The book sets forth the problems characteristic for each region, besides crediting the people for noteworthy achievements in industry and organization. Every page of the book is an interesting one.

J. E. N.

THE STATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By HAROLD J. LASKI. New York: The Viking Press, 1935, pp. 299.

After showing that the concepts, state and sovereignty, have undergone a philosophical evolution in their meaning, Laski uses the concept State as an organization for coercive control, based (since the Industrial Revolution) in favor of the owners of the instruments of production as against those who have nothing but their labor power to sell. In any class struggle in a society, the power of the state will be exercised either in favor of the few or the many according to which type of ownership of the instruments of production prevails. Laski evaluates democracy, socialism, Fascism, et cetera, in terms of capitalistic exploitation regarded as incompatible with other ideologies. Having dealt with the state, the author then shows that the same principles are operative in interrelations between sovereign states, the latter protecting their sovereignty and their imperialistic ambitions and foreign "vested interests" for the very same reasons that they control the internal functions of the state. The League of Nations is thus shown to have failed because the economic organization of the nations concerned has been inimical to its success: an international society requires economic world planning, that is, economic democracy, rather than exploitation of man by man as in the present capitalistic system. Throughout the book, Professor Laski makes the usual type of political observations for which he is famous. The theory presented is quite in harmony with his previous writings, and the exposition is equally brilliant and fearless.

J. E. N.

SHUTDOWNS IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY. By KATHARINE DUPRE LUMPKIN. Field Work by MABLE V. COMBS. Northhampton, Mass.: Smith College Studies in History. Vol. XIX, Nos. 3-4. April, 1934 - July, 1934.

Part I of this study presents the "Extent of plant shutdowns in the Connecticut Valley, 1929 to 1933" and describes the growth and location of industry up to 1929; presents plant abandonment, 1929 to 1933; and gives a fine picture of how extensive the shutdown problem really is. Part II treats the effects of plant shutdown as studied in one isolated town. The following is one of the many telling observations found in the report. "In the Town studied, 72 per cent of the displaced workers' families were found in poverty and destitution, five-sixths of them having had an income above the poverty level before the shutdown of their plant."

Social Drama Notes

FIRST LADY. A Play in Three Acts. By KATHERINE DAYTON and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN. New York: Random House, 1935, pp. 194.

"Well, I'm always early. Just an old Washington war-horse minding her protocol and precedence."

"The question is: Whom are you going to nominate for President? We want a man who had a mother, Senator Hardwick."

"The Chief Justice's dinners bore me to death. Habeas corpus and you're home again at ten-thirty."

Filled with such crisp dialogue, *First Lady* runs its course merrily through three acts. It is a scintillating comedy of bad manners on display in current Washington society. Inspiration for the play undoubtedly came through the reportorial activities of dramatists Dayton and Kaufman, experts in discovering the humor of Washington.

During the mad three acts, glimpses are caught of a drawing room, dominated by Lucy Chase Wayne, granddaughter of onetime President Chase, a White House baby, and wife of a cabinet member. Lucy's rival is Irene Hibbard, wife of Carter Hibbard of the Supreme Court. Their dissonance turns the drawing room into a veritable Donnybrook Fair.

Irene, tiring of her Justice, whose stomach has been made the receptacle for many a soda-mint tablet, turns her attentions to the younger Senators, enmeshing several whose presidential possibilities have a lustre-like polish. Lucy, bred in the White House, and who never has been weaned away from it, is determined that Irene shall not take the center of the Washington scene. The feud began all in earnest when Irene committed the one unpardonable sin—relieving Lucy of the pride of her dinners, a colored chef. How Lucy attempts to displace Irene, and almost promotes her to the White House by indiscreetly starting a boom for dyspeptic Judge Hibbard, forms the main theme of this hilarious comedy. Her feline tactics succeed in saving the White House prospects for herself, however. Politically ambitious women who read or see the play will probably smart under the biting, brittle bon mots, and many a politically ambitious male may steel himself against being caught in similar situations. At any rate, the play succeeds in presenting a brilliant and gay satire on how the wheels of history may be made to turn merely by the neat little trick of stealing one's cook. It is not for those who lack a nice sense of humor, however, or for sober Tories. M. J. V.

Social Photoplay Notes

The Life of Louis Pasteur reveals a scientist who had two sets of foes to conquer. One was represented by the invisible enemies of mankind, the bacteria which cause disease and which kept their existence covered up for so many centuries of human suffering. The other was ignorance intrenched behind customary ways of thinking on the part of the medical profession. To prove to the skeptical physicians that their age-old theories concerning disease were wrong was an almost insuperable task. Pasteur's achievements and their final recognition are shown to rest upon several personality traits. First, there was the spirit of experimentation and of inductive reasoning, that is, faith in the scientific method of uncovering truth. Second, there was patience. When experiments yielded no results and pathogenic bacteria defied discovery, Pasteur kept on with his faith in scientific methods never failing. Third, there was imagination, shown in the creating of theories of how nature works even though experimentation is slow in yielding proof. Fourth, there was courage in attacking and defying the physicians of the French Academy of Medicine and of the Royal Court, whose necessity for maintaining status meant that they must not admit any of their venerable theories to be wrong. In the photoplay, Pasteur's work in overcoming anthrax, childbirth fever, and hydrophobia is well portrayed. His notable achievement represented by the pasteurization of milk is unfortunately omitted. The closing scenes showing final victory and wide recognition are effectively done, for Pasteur rises here to his greatest heights not only as an exponent of impersonal science, but as an advocate of peace and an opponent of war, and above all else as a gigantic human force struggling for the welfare and the progress of mankind.

Rose Marie is characterized not only by clever photography and by light and shadow effects that measure high in the scale of perfection, but by the clever singing of two stars especially adapted to the parts. Interesting details of a corn festival and a striking interpretation of the efficiency of the Canadian mounted police are significant sidelights. This efficiency is centered in a strict adherence to duty. At this point the motion picture culminates. A mounted policeman is called upon to choose between duty and ardent love. A notable study in attitudes comes when the mounted policeman rides away with "his man" despite the plaintive singing of the "love call."

The decision had already been made promptly when the realization came to the policeman that love might defeat duty. Duty in behalf of law wins, and finally love wins too. While the motion picture falls notably below the original stage production, there is compensation in the superior interplay in attitudes which is presented on the screen. As in the opera, the singing of the "Indian Love Call" justly overtops all else.

Mr. Hobo affords George Arliss a new type of role. He makes a delightful hobo and wins admiration for the carefree life and homely philosophy of at least one transient. He arouses pity for the prison sort of life that people cooped up in city offices necessarily lead. When he appears as "Mr. Rothschild," he demonstrates how the prestige of a well-known and admired name blinds everyone, from officials and business men to street people, and how such a name produces a ridiculous obeisance on their part. The scheming nature of big business and the quick willingness of at least one business man to sacrifice other business men to the god of greed are shown. Likewise, the scorn of one big business man for the honest but gullible investor is also effectively portrayed.

*A new and unusually full, well-
rounded study of immigration*

WORLD IMMIGRATION

With Special Reference to the United States

By MAURICE R. DAVIE

Professor of Sociology, Yale University

Immigration is here discussed from all points of view, the historical, sociological, cultural, economic, and political. Although immigration to the United States is emphasized, immigration to other countries, notably the British Dominions and the Latin American countries, has also been considered. All types of immigrants are treated, with full attention to their national and racial backgrounds. To be published in May.

Probable price, \$3.75

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 60 Fifth Ave., New York

SOCIAL WORK TECHNIQUE

An Illustrated Bi-Monthly Technical Journal for Social Workers

Articles, summaries of technical literature, critical reviews of current professional literature, answers to technical questions—all presented in form for actual use by workers on the front line.

Annual subscription: \$1.50; single copies 30 cents

SOCIAL WORK TECHNIQUE

3474 University Avenue

Los Angeles, California

Cash subscribers who enclose this ad (or mention it) will receive the current issue without charge—Six issues annually—Thirty-two pages or more—6½ by 9½ inches